

REAL SLAVE PRICES AND THE RELATIVE COST OF SLAVE LABOR IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD

Abstract: Measured in relation to daily wages and the cost of grain, slave prices were low in classical Athens but high in Roman Egypt and other parts of the Roman empire during the Principate. Slave prices in Roman Republican Italy are very poorly known but were probably relatively low. This pattern is consistent with a broader model of the economics of chattel slavery in the ancient Mediterranean and beyond that suggests that the success of slavery as a labor regime critically depended on the relationship between labor supply and labor demand. Whereas unpredictable and time-consuming commitments among the citizenry, and high mobility and easy access to slaves were conducive to the spread of slave labor, weak commitments, low mobility and settled labor markets had the opposite effect.

How did the Greek Aegean and Roman Italy become two of the very few genuine slave societies in world history? Ancient historians have yet to develop a comprehensive model that explains why chattel slavery assumed much greater importance in some parts and periods of the ancient Mediterranean than in others. With regard to late archaic Athens (and, by implication, early Rome), Finley stressed the impact of social and political change: the abolition of debt-bondage and the concomitant liberation of the peasant-citizenry created demand for readily exploitable outsiders that was satisfied by slave imports¹. Rihll put greater emphasis on improvements in the slave supply². Hopkins focused on the substitution of Italian conscript farmer-soldiers by foreign slaves as a consequence of war-driven attrition, dislocation, migration, and capital inflows: as prolonged military service severed the farmers' ties to their land, the wealthy were able to expand their holdings and populate it with foreign slaves. In Hopkins' catchy phrase, «Roman peasant soldiers were fighting for their own replacement»³. However, none of these readings explicitly relates the expansion of slave labor

¹ M.I. FINLEY, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, ed. B.D. SHAW, Princeton 1998, p. 157-158, and cf. his *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, ed. B.D. SHAW and R.P. SALLER, London 1981, p. 165-166 for Rome.

² T.E. RIHLL, *War, Slavery and Settlement in Early Greece*, in J. RICH – G. SHIPLEY (eds.), *War and Society in the Greek World*, London and New York 1993, p. 77-107; *The Origin and Establishment of Greek Slavery*, in M.L. BUSH (ed.), *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*, London – New York 1996, p. 89-111.

³ K. HOPKINS, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge 1978, p. 1-115 (quote on p. 30).

in certain environments to its limited presence in others, or situates these developments in a formal economic framework. In forthcoming work, I argue that the success of slave-based labor regimes ultimately depended on two pivotal variables, namely the degree of availability (and hence the real cost) of free labor and the nature of the slave supply⁴. According to my model, chattel slavery flourished in citizen communities where strong commitments to military activity or commerce enhanced social and geographical mobility, increased capital stocks, exacerbated turnover costs and de-stabilized free labor markets. Greece and Roman Italy came to share all these features, and slave labor expanded accordingly. In other contexts, a less dynamic configuration of circumstances curtailed both demand for and access to slave labor.

Is it possible to measure the significance of the two key variables of demand for labor and the unfree labor supply in the ancient Mediterranean world? I hope to show that even in the absence of proper statistics, we may gain at least a vague impression of the economic impact of labor shortages and access to slaves by comparing price and wage data from different regions and periods. When free labor is expensive (and thus scarce relative to requirements) and slave imports are cheap (relative to the real costs of free labor), we would expect slavery to flourish, whereas the combination of abundant free labor and expensive slaves is likely to reduce the scale of slave use. These predictions are supported by the ancient evidence: As we will see, the principal contrast is between the expanding slave economy of classical Greece and the more mature slave system of the Roman Empire during the first few centuries AD.

As usual, Roman Egypt furnishes the largest body of quantifiable evidence. Slave prices, daily wages for unskilled rural laborers, and wheat prices can be combined to shed some light on the relative value of slaves in that region. Adjustment for inflationary processes allows us to utilize data from an extended period from the late first century to the mid-third centuries AD⁵. Figures 1 and 2 and Table 1 are based on a sample of 17 prices

⁴ W. SCHEIDEL, *The Comparative Economics of Slavery in the Greco-Roman World*, in E. DAL LAGO – C. KATSARI (eds.), *Slave Systems, Ancient and Modern* (forthcoming).

⁵ Median rural daily wages and wheat prices rose by 225% near the end of the second century AD. Other commodity prices experienced comparable increases. This shift has been carefully documented by D.W. RATHBONE, *Monetisation, Not Price Inflation, in Third-Century Egypt?*, in C.E. KING – D.G. WIGG (eds.), *Coin Finds and Coin Use in the Roman World*, Berlin 1996, p. 321-339, and *Prices and Price Formation in Roman Egypt*, in J. ANDREAU et al. (eds.), *Économie antique: prix et formations des prix dans les économies antiques*, Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges 1997, p. 183-244, and may be linked to the

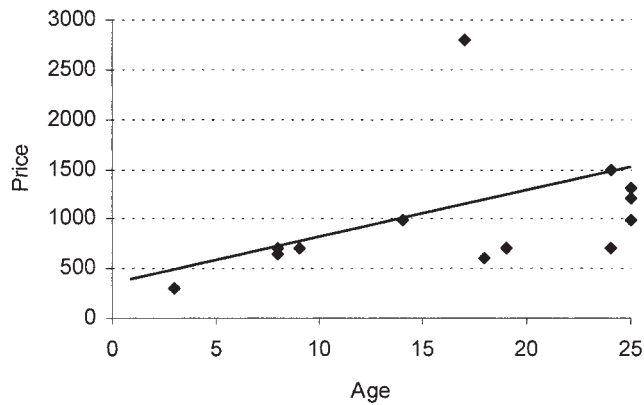


Fig. 1 – Slave prices in Roman Egypt in second-century drachmas (n=13)

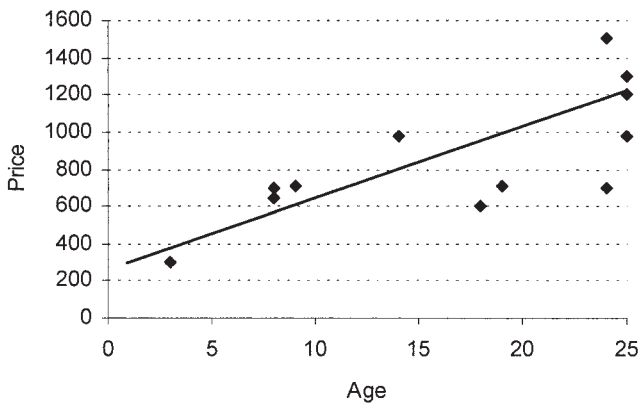


Fig. 2 – Slave prices in Roman Egypt in second-century drachmas, excluding the top outlier (n=12)

Table 1 – Mean and median slave prices in Roman Egypt (70s to 250s AD), in second-century drachmas

Age cohort	Number of cases	Mean	Median
0-5	1	300	300
6-15	6	880	[?]
16-25	8 [7*]	1,220 [1,000*]	1,100 [980*]

* excluding the top outlier

of slaves in Roman Egypt who were sold between the 70s and the 250s AD and whose age and gender is known⁶. Age was the principal determinant of value: at younger ages, differences in skill and experience are unlikely to have affected individual prices to a large extent. Moreover, the rising trend lines document a credible positive correlation between age and price. The sample, small as it is, therefore appears to be free from egregious distortions.

The resultant price ratio of 0.26 [0.3] for ages 0-5 to 0.72 [0.88] for ages 6-15 to 1 for ages 16-25 is broadly compatible with the corresponding mean ratios of 0.2 to 0.6 to 1 for slaves in the Antebellum South in the mid-nineteenth century⁷. The ratio of (maximum) prices prescribed by Diocletian's Price Edict of AD 301 can only imperfectly be related to this data set because it operates with a different age breakdown of 0.45 (ages 0-8) to 0.73 (ages 8-16) to 1 (ages 16-40), but (if we substitute a lower ceiling for slaves under age 5) nevertheless shows a similar pattern⁸.

dislocations caused by the 'Antonine Plague' in the 160s-180s AD (cf. W. SCHEIDEL, *A Model of Demographic and Economic Change in Roman Egypt after the Antonine Plague*, JRA 15, 2002, p. 97-114). Controlling for a 225% increase, we may express third-century AD slave prices in pre-plague prices to ensure comparability with earlier references. Given the small size of the sample and the highly approximate nature of the following calculations, this method only allows broad estimates about the right orders of magnitude.

⁶ J.A. STRAUS, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine: contribution papyrologique à l'étude de l'esclavage dans une province orientale de l'époque romaine*, Leipzig 2004, p. 296-298, superseding H.-J. DREXHAGE, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians*, St Katharinen 1991, p. 249-279. The sample includes an eight year-old boy and a fifteen year-old girl who were jointly valued at 2,250 drachmas. Since they fall in the same age bracket, the precise individual prices do not matter here, and they have been included in the calculations for Table 1 (but not in Figs. 1-2). The sample excludes two prices from the transitional 'price-shift' period in the 180s/190s AD, and more generally does not include any prices from the period from AD 167-211. Two recorded prices for slaves older than 25 were omitted because of their small number; moreover, the census returns indicate that male slaves were generally freed before they reached age 35 (R.S. BAGNALL – B.W. FRIER, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1994, p. 342-343), which must have depressed their market value in their late twenties and early thirties. Due to the small size of the sample, a gender breakdown is not feasible: a purely impressionist assessment indicates no dramatic differences between the sexes.

⁷ R.W. FOGEL – S.L. ENGERMAN, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, Boston 1974, p. 76. The values in square brackets exclude the top outlier in the 16-25 cohort. I present two graphs (Figs. 1-2) to show that inclusion or exclusion of the outlier does not affect the underlying price pattern (most notably, the incline of the trend line). Moreover, its omission does not make a significant difference to the equivalence valuations further below.

⁸ W. SCHEIDEL, *Reflections on the Differential Valuation of Slaves in Diocletian's Price Edict and in the United States*, MDAH 15 (1996), p. 67-79, esp. 72.

The ratios in the price edict, in turn, resemble two schedules of slave prices developed by US slave dealers in the nineteenth century⁹.

In a previous study, I calculated median wheat prices of 8 drachmas per *artaba* (c. 30 kg) in the second century AD (up to the 160s) and of 18 drachmas for the third century AD (up to the 250s), as well as median daily wages for rural laborers of 7 obols (=1 drachma) in the first period and 16 obols (= 2.28 drachmas) in the second¹⁰. As stated above, the working hypothesis of a stable increase of 225% in both cases allows us to express all these amounts in second-century terms. This correction allows us to estimate that a slave in the prime of life (aged 16-25), priced at 1,100-1,200 [or 1,000] drachmas, was equivalent in value to 4,100-4,500 [or 3,750] kg of wheat, or about 3.2 [or 2.7] years of income of a rural laborer.

We may compare the Egyptian rates with 3 slave prices documented in Dura Europos in the years AD 249-252, of 600 denarii for a 13 year-old girl, 700 denarii for another 13 year-old girl, and 550 denarii for a female of unknown age¹¹. Unfortunately, no grain prices or daily wages are known from that location. All we can say is that in Dura, a mean price of 650 denarii (for slaves aged 11-15) would buy about 7 or 8 coats (*pallia*), while in third-century AD Egypt, a mean slave price of 970 drachmas for the same cohort bought about 6 *pallia*¹². Given the tiny number of records for coats and our ignorance about their relative quality, this is at best an exceedingly shaky comparison, and offers only questionable support for the notion that real slave prices were of a similar order of magnitude on the Nile and the Upper Euphrates.

Four slaves who ended up in Egypt had been purchased outside the province: a 10 year-old girl from Side (Pamphylia) for 280 denarii in AD 142; a 12 year-old girl from Side for 350 denarii in AD 151; a 7 year-old boy from Seleucia (Syria) for 200 denarii in AD 166; and an 8 year-old boy from Macedonia for 300 denarii in AD 236/7. The mean of 1,107 drachmas

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 69-74, drawing on M. TADMAN, *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*, Madison – London 1989, p. 287-288.

¹⁰ W. SCHEIDEL, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 103-105.

¹¹ D. FEISSEL – J. GASCOU – J. TEIXIDOR, *Documents d'archives romaines inédits du moyen Euphrate (IIIe s. après J.-C.) II: les actes de vente-achat (P. Euphr. 6 à 10)*, JS 1997, p. 3-57. A papyrus from nearby Edessa (AD 243) records the sale of a 28 year-old woman for 700 denarii (A.R. BELLINGER – C.B. WELLES, *A Third-Century Contract of Sale from Edessa in Osrhoene*, YCIS 5, 1935, p. 93-154).

¹² Data from K. RUFFING, *Die Geschäfte des Aurelios Nebuchelos*, *Laverna* 11 (2000), p. 71-105, at p. 87 (Dura); H.-J. DREXHAGE, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 355-363 (Egypt). The three specimens at Dura were priced at 50, 90, and 125 denarii (a spread of 150%), compared to five specimens in Egypt priced at 100, 100, 160, 168, and 260 drachmas (a spread of 160%).

(at 4 Egyptian drachmas per denarius) for the three minors from the mid-second century AD is significantly higher than the domestic average of around 700 drachmas for the same age bracket. Conversion into wheat equivalent entails considerable guesswork: at HS 2-2.5 per *modius* (c. 6.6 kg)¹³, these three slaves would have sold for 2,900-3,700 kg of wheat equivalent, compared to about 2,700 kg in Egypt. It is possible but by no means certain that the two price samples differ in real terms¹⁴.

How do these provincial valuations compare to conditions in Roman Italy in the early imperial period? Any attempt at comparison is seriously hampered by the lack of comparable series of price and (especially) wage data from the heartland of the empire¹⁵. Arguably the most representative value is the conventional legal valuation of HS 2000 for a (presumably adult and not exceptionally skilled) slave that is attested both in the Digest and in an inscription from North Africa¹⁶. Reckoning with a notional wheat price of perhaps HS 3-4 per *modius* in Italy, this translates to about 3,300-4,400 kg of wheat equivalent. In North Africa, wheat prices ought to have been lower: at HS 2-3¹⁷, a slave would have been valued at 4,400 to 6,600 kg of wheat. The resultant range of about 3 to 7 tons centers on the corresponding range from 3.7 to 4.5 tons of wheat for Roman Egypt.

Documentary evidence adds a scatter of often unspecific references. Real-life valuations of slave children in Italy vary from HS 600 (a pledge for a girl of unknown age in first-century AD Herculaneum) to HS 1,450 (the combined price of two boys of unknown age in first-century AD Pompeii) all the way to HS 1,400 (a pledge for a girl of unknown age in first-century AD Herculaneum). Putatively adult slaves were sold for HS 900

¹³ D. KESSLER – P. TEMIN, *The Grain Market in the Early Roman Empire* (forthcoming) refer to wheat prices of HS 2-2.5/modius in Palestine (AD 15) and HS 2-2.25 in Pisidia (80s AD).

¹⁴ Dacian wax tablets record the prices of another three slaves in the mid-second century AD: 205 denarii for a 6 year-old girl; 600 denarii for a boy of unknown age; and 420 denarii for a woman of unspecified age (*CIL* III TC 6-7, 25). In nominal terms, 820 drachms for a 6 year-old girl fit the Egyptian pattern, as do 1,680 drachms for a woman; whereas 2,400 drachms for a boy seem exceptionally high. A second-century AD inscription from southern Gaul (*CIL* XII 2522) may imply a price of 1,000 denarii for a man. In the absence even of minimal context, none of these references is particularly helpful here.

¹⁵ S. MROZEK, *Prix et rémunération dans l'occident romain (31 av.n.è. – 250 de n.è.)*, Gdansk 1975, p. 10-15 (wheat), p. 70-5 (wages); R. DUNCAN-JONES, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge 1982², p. 346 (wheat).

¹⁶ F. GROSSO, 'Pretium servi ex forma censoria', in *Hommages à Marcel Renard, II*, Brussels 1969, p. 302-310; R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 348-9. Cf. also *CIL* VIII 4508 for a slave priced at HS 2000 in North Africa (S. MROZEK, *op. cit.* [n. 15], p. 46).

¹⁷ See above, n. 13.

(a man of unknown age in first-century AD Herculaneum), HS 2,500 (a woman of unknown age in second-century AD Ravenna), HS 5,300 (the combined price of two slaves of unknown age and sex in first-century Pompeii), and HS 4,050 (a man in first-century AD Herculaneum)¹⁸.

Literary allusions to slave prices often appear to focus on the unusual or aim for comic effect. The most reliable reference may be Columella's claim that a skilled vine dresser would sell for HS 6-8,000. In a text designed to advertise the profitability of viticulture, this can hardly be an exaggeration, and gives us a glimpse of the scale of skill premiums in the Roman slave economy¹⁹. Other seemingly casual references range across a wide price spectrum: HS 1,200 appear as ostensibly plausible prices for slaves in Petronius and Martial; HS 2,000 in Horace; and HS 8,000 as the value of 3 slave cooks according to the Elder Pliny, as well as the asking price for a *puer* with some knowledge of Greek in Horace²⁰. Except for the last case, the context requires readers to accept these prices as credible valuations at least for cheap or unskilled slaves. A range from HS 1,200-4,000 for unskilled or moderately skilled adults translates to 2,000-8,800 kg of wheat equivalent at HS 3-4/*modius*, and 1,300-5,300 kg at a higher rate of HS 5-6/*modius* that is perhaps more appropriate for Rome and central Italy²¹. However, documentary slave prices point to a somewhat higher mean. The existence of a pledge of HS 1,400 for a mere *puella*, and real-life prices of HS 2,500, c. 2,650, and 4,000 for putative adults suggests that literary allusions to slaves priced at HS 1,200 to 2,000 may be on the low side or could have been read as referring to minors

¹⁸ References in S. MROZEK, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 45-48; R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 348-350.

¹⁹ Columella, *Rust.* III 3.8. Skill premiums were relatively low in the Americas (40-55% in the US, 35% in Peru, 10-20% in Cuba: J.B. WAHL, *Prices of Slaves*, in P. FINKELMAN – J.C. MILLER [eds.], *Macmillan Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, New York 1998, p. 743), a fact that may reflect the difference between pain- and reward-driven systems. For extreme cases, see R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 349, esp. Plin., *HN* VII 128, and Suet., *Gramm.* 3, for the price of HS 700,000 paid for the *grammaticus* Daphnus. The *senatus consultum* of c. AD 177 that provided for a reduction in the prices of gladiators also documents large skill premiums: while low-grade gladiators sold for as little as HS 1,000 each, a highly accomplished fighter commanded prices of up to HS 15,000: J.H. OLIVER – R.E.A. PALMER, *Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate*, *Hesperia* 24 (1955), p. 320-349, at p. 332.

²⁰ Petron., *Sat.* 68; Mart. 10.31; Hor., *Sat.* II 7.43; Plin., *HN* IX 67; Hor., *Epist.* 2.2 (with F. KUDLIEN, *Empticius servus: Bemerkungen zum antiken Sklavenmarkt*, *Hermes* 35, 1986, p. 240-256, at p. 247).

²¹ For wheat prices in Rome, see G. RICKMAN, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1980, p. 154; R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 346.

— a meaning that might have been clear to a Roman audience but eludes us. The legal convention of HS 2,000 makes sense if it provides a reasonable (lower) benchmark figure for most adult slaves. A more conservative range from HS 2,000 to 4,000 translates to 3,300-8,800 kg of wheat at HS 3-4/*modius*, and 2,200-5,300 kg at HS 5-6/*modius*.

Diocletian's price edict of AD 301 stipulates a maximum price for unskilled slaves aged 16-40 that was equivalent to the maximum price of 2.5 tons of wheat (for women) and 3 tons (for men) in the same document, while skilled slaves were to be sold for up to twice as much. Moreover, the maximum prices for unskilled slaves in that age bracket work out at 2.1-2.5 years of maximum wages for rural laborers²². Although it may be tempting to interpret these ratios as a reflection of real-life price relations, we cannot be sure whether the prescribed price ceilings for slaves and wheat were related to actual prices in roughly the same manner, or whether the ceiling was significantly higher or lower for one commodity than for the other (in the sense that one ceiling was closer to 'typical' prices than the other)²³. This problem casts considerable doubt on the utility of this record for the purposes of this survey.

Different problems limit the value of the abundant slave valuations reported in the manumission inscriptions from late Hellenistic Delphi (Table 2). These texts record the payments made by slaves to obtain an unconditional release from servitude (that is, without additional labor requirements or other restrictions).

With wheat valued at 400 drachmas per 3,500 kg in the second century BC²⁵, these averages correspond to about 3.5 tons of wheat equivalent in the first half of the second century, and 3.9-4.7 tons in the second half. Assuming roughly constant grain prices²⁶, the real value of male slaves subsequently rose to over 7 tons by the end of the Republican period²⁷.

²² The edict allows 25 denarii plus food. I value the food ration at 0.5-1 kg of wheat per day (or 5-10 denarii).

²³ W. SCHEIDEL, *art. cit.* (n. 8), p. 76.

²⁴ Based on K. HOPKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 161 table III.4. I omit data for conditional releases since only unconditional releases can be expected to approximate current market values (but cf. below).

²⁵ Y. GARLAN, *Slavery in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca and London 1988, p. 55.

²⁶ This assumption that is supported by the fact that the second-century valuation equals HS 3/*modius*, which would also be a plausible price for first-century BC Greece.

²⁷ For discussion of this increase (which may be a function of changes in the social composition of the sample), see K. HOPKINS, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 162; R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *Problems of the Delphic Manumission Payments 200-1 B.C.*, *ZPE* 57 (1984), p. 203-209;

Table 2 – Payments by unconditionally freed slaves recorded at Delphi (in drachmas)²⁴

Period (BC)	Adult male	Adult female
200-153	405 (n=107)	390 (n=140)
153-100	532 (n=67)	440 (n=106)
100-53	641 (n=7)	500 (n=21)
53-1	827 (n=10)	485 (n=10)

There are two problems. First of all, did release tariffs closely correspond to market prices? In principle, there was nothing to prevent Greek slave-owners from making demands that were either higher or lower than the going market rates. Second, and perhaps more importantly, we may suspect that particularly privileged and/or skilled slaves were disproportionately likely to be able to procure their own freedom, and therefore may well dominate this sample: after all, high self-purchase prices are strongly indicative of a reward-driven incentive system geared to care-intensive and human capital-rich activities. In fact, comparative evidence suggests that the practice of self-purchase is closely associated with urban crafts and other skill-rich activities²⁸. In other words, we cannot take any of these prices as proxy evidence of representative market prices for ‘average’ slaves²⁹.

All this leaves us with a mixed bag of valuations (Table 3). While the extent of market integration in the Roman Empire remains controversial³⁰, we may safely assume that at least from the second century BC onwards, markets for precious and highly mobile commodities such as slaves gradually converged throughout the coastal areas of the

W. SCHEIDEL, *Human Mobility in Roman Italy, II: The Slave Population*, JRS 95 (2005) (in press). This issue does not matter here.

²⁸ E.g., S.E. MATISON, *Manumission by Purchase*, *Journal of Negro History* 33 (1948), p. 146-167 (USA); J.S. HANDLER, *The Unappropriate People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados*, Baltimore 1974, p. 53 (Caribbean).

²⁹ At Delphi, the most valuable slaves were manumitted for 3 to 4 times the amount paid by the majority of slaves: it is probable that this spread reflects differences in skill (R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *art. cit.* [n. 27], p. 206, 209). The Roman Italian evidence cited above indicates that skill premiums could easily double, treble or even quadruple base level prices.

³⁰ See now P. TEMIN, *A Market Economy in the Early Roman Empire*, JRS 91 (2001), p. 169-181, and *The Labor Market of the Early Roman Empire*, JIH 34 (2004), p. 513-538, for an optimistic view.

Table 3 – Regional variation in real slave prices in the Roman Mediterranean (male and female; in wheat equivalent)

Context	Wheat equivalent (in tons)		Unskilled rural labor
	Range	Rough mean	(in years)
(Delphi (2nd c. BC (1st c. BC	?<3.5-4.7 ?<3.8-7.2) ?<4) ?<5.5)	
Italy (1st/2nd c. AD)	2-9	5.5	
Roman legal (2nd/3rd c. AD)	3-7	5	
Egypt (2nd/3rd c. AD) (Levant, 2nd c. AD (Dacia, 2nd c. AD (Dura, 3rd c. AD	[3.5 or] 4.-4.5	4 similar?) similar?) similar?)	3
Price Edict (AD 301)	(2.5-3?)	(2.5-3?)	(2-2.5?)

Mediterranean³¹. As a result, we would expect the prices of slaves to have been of a similar order of magnitude throughout this region. Allowing for various deficiencies and distortions in our disparate sources, the most economical reading of the synopsis in Table 3 would seem to me that this was indeed the case. Virtually all of these estimates fall into a range of 4 tons plus/minus 50% in wheat equivalent for adult slaves. Given the nature of the evidence and its spread across space and time, this is the best level of resolution we can reasonably hope for.

³¹ Transport costs cannot have been a major constraint on commodities that were worth several tons of grain and could move under their own steam. Inter-provincial tolls (*portoria*) would increase transaction costs: a tariff from Palmyra (*OGIS* 629 = *CIS* II 3913) charges 22 denarii for slaves who are brought into the city's territory and 12 denarii for those who are exported, equivalent to 2-3% of the mean value of two 13 year-old female slaves in Dura (see above). A customs inscription from Zarai in Numidia (AD 202) stipulates a tariff of HS 6 for a slave, equal to that for a horse or mule (*CIL* VIII 4508): even at low prices, this must have fallen short of 1% of mean value. The most important obstacle to full market integration may have been the prohibition of slave exports from Egypt without permission (i.e., without payment of the requisite fee), a Ptolemaic measure that survived under Roman rule for the sake of revenue: see A. I. PAVLOVSKAJA, *Die Sklaverei im römischen Ägypten*, in L.P. MARINOVIC *et al.*, *Die Sklaverei in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches im 1.-3. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 165-270, at p. 227-229.

Within ancient Mediterranean history, this scenario — which might be called the ‘mature Roman slave system’ of the first three centuries AD³² — stands in marked contrast to conditions in classical Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Reported slave prices mostly amount to a few hundred drachmas. The auction of the slaves of the Hermokopidai in 414 BC yielded a mean of 179 drachmas for a heterogeneous group of 22 slaves³³. Some sixty years later, an envisaged price of 180 drachms per mine-worker can be deduced from Xenophon’s scheme to revive Athenian silver mining (*Vect.* 4.4-16, 23). In a different context, the same author intimates that slaves could vary widely in value, from less than 50 drachmas to 200, 250, 500, and even 1,000 (Xen., *Mem.* II 5.2). As ‘<50’ and ‘1,000’ presumably feature as bounding extremes, 200-500 seems looks like a conventional range in this category. This assumption is consistent with Demosthenes’ reference (XXVII 9) to his father’s 32 or 33 skilled knife-makers, none of whom were valued at less than 300 drachmas, and most at 500 and 600. This in turn squares well with the mortgaging of 20 couch-makers for 4,000 drachmas, which implies a somewhat higher market value, and the forced sale of 15 skilled workmen at an average of 200 drachmas³⁴.

Wheat cost 5-6 drachmas per *medimnos* (c. 40 kg) of wheat, which means that 1 drachma customarily bought 7-8 kg³⁵. This puts the mean value of the slaves of the Hermokopidai and Xenophon’s miners at 1.2-1.4 tons, compared to Xenophon’s *oiketai* at 1.4-4 tons, and Demosthenes’ sword-makers at 2-5 tons. We get the impression that low-skill slaves were thought to be available at about 1.2-1.6 tons of wheat equivalent, while skill premiums could push up prices to 4 or 5 tons³⁶. For what they are worth, these valuations are significantly lower than comparable rates for the Roman Empire. This interpretation is strengthened

³² This leaves aside the Delphi material which cannot be interpreted in a reliable manner; see above.

³³ W.K. PRITCHETT, *The Attic Stelai: Part II, Hesperia* 25 (1956), p. 178-328, at p. 276.

³⁴ Dem. XXVII 9, 18. Cf. also Hdt. V 77; 6.97, for 200 drachmas as a conventional per capita ransom for war captives in early fifth century BC Greece (but see below).

³⁵ M.M. MARKLE III, *Jury Pay and Assembly Pay at Athens*, in P.A. CARTLEDGE – F.D. HARVEY (eds.), *Crux: Essays in Greek History Presented to G.E.M. de Ste. Croix on his 75th Birthday*, London 1985, p. 265-97, at p. 293-294.

³⁶ In the auction records of the Hermokopidai (above, n. 33), a Carian goldsmith priced at 360 drachmas was far more expensive than a carpenter (?) priced at 215 and a donkey-driver priced at 140 drachmas, and fetched twice the overall average price in that sample. The price difference between Xenophon’s miners and Demosthenes’ father’s skilled artisans is similarly large.

by the ratio of slave prices to daily wages. Judging by Loomis' exhaustive survey, 1 drachma appears to have been a common wage for civilians and soldiers in the fifth century BC. Unskilled workers at the Erechtheion received 1-1.5 drachmas per day, skilled employees 1.25-2.5 drachmas³⁷. At 7-8 kg of wheat per drachma, the daily wage of an unskilled worker bought between 7 and 12 kg of wheat. By contrast, the daily wage of an unskilled rural laborer in Roman Egypt bought a mere 3.75 kg of wheat, or only one-third to one-half as much³⁸. This gap is so substantial that even allowing for a food supplement for Egyptian wage-laborers or controlling for differences in urban (Athens) and rural (Egypt) wage levels (for example, by factoring in the cost of rent), it is unlikely to disappear³⁹. I conclude that Jones and Duncan-Jones, in their earlier more limited earlier attempts to assess the value of slaves in different times and places, were right to maintain that Athenian slaves were significantly cheaper than Roman imperial slaves⁴⁰. While Finley may have been justified in dismissing Jones' daring calculations from a handful of sources as «fantastic arithmetic»⁴¹, the tenor of these earlier findings can now be shown to be consistent with a much more robust set of ancient data.

However, this finding is of no particular significance unless it can be used to account for the dynamics of chattel slavery in the ancient Mediterranean. The cost of slave maintenance is necessarily a matter of speculation.

³⁷ W.T. LOOMIS, *Wages, Welfare Costs and Inflation in Classical Athens*, Ann Arbor 1998, p. 104-20; cf. p. 32-61, 232-9. If a deliberately matter-of-factly list in comedy is to be trusted, 3 drachmas was a credible outlay to rent a cook for a day, while 1 drachma paid for a waiter (Men., *Asp.* 216-35); at the very least, these wages are consistent with the documentary evidence. This also suggests that state wages need not have been wildly out of sync with wages in the private sector. The strong presence of slaves among the Erechtheion builders also speaks against the assumption that wages associated with that project were abnormally high. The fact that Athenian citizens could apparently get by on 3 obols a day if they had to (M.M. MARKLE, *art. cit.* [n. 35], p. 276-281) is consistent with this scenario of high (i.e., significantly higher than mere subsistence) real wages.

³⁸ Wage comparisons with Italy seem inadvisable due to the lack of reliable data. At HS 4/day and HS 3-5/modius in central Italy, a worker could have bought anywhere from 5.3 to 8.8 kg of wheat per day. Note that these schematic calculations are not meant to tell us anything about actual annual incomes.

³⁹ At 0.5-1 kg wheat equivalent, a daily food ration in Egypt would have raised real wages by a mere 13-25%. The small size of Attica, the large size of some Egyptian villages, and overall population density in Egypt speak against the existence of isolated urban or rural labor markets and great consequent wage differentials.

⁴⁰ A.H.M. JONES, *Slavery in the Ancient World*, *EHR* 9 (1956), p. 185-199, at p. 194; R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *Two Possible Indices of the Purchasing Power of Money in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, in *Les Dévaluations à Rome: époque républicaine et impériale*, Rome 1978, p. 159-168, at p. 162-164.

⁴¹ M.I. FINLEY, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models*, New York 1986, p. 28-29.

Cato proffers what is surely a 'minimalist' option in his second-century BC agricultural treatise by allowing 4 *modii*/month and 4.5 in the summer for adult field hands (i.e., physically highly active slaves) and 3 *modii*/month for others, plus 7 to 10 quadrantals (180-260 liters) of wine and 1 *modius* of salt per year, one tunic and one pair of wooden shoes every other year, and residue from the olive harvest (*Agr.* 56-59). It is hard to imagine a more dire regime, and his estimates can therefore be used to establish a lower baseline. At putative market prices, these provisions work out at approximately HS 200-300 per year, excluding housing or supervision costs, or 400-700 kg of wheat equivalent at HS 3/*modius*⁴². The lower figure is therefore almost certainly too low even under the most restrictive circumstances.

Assume that a slave-owner in Roman Egypt keeps her staff on the local version of the Cato diet. She purchases a slave aged 20 for 4,500 kg of wheat equivalent, and spends 400 kg of wheat equivalent per year on maintenance⁴³. After 10 years, she will have spent 8.5 tons of wheat equivalent, plus supervision costs and the pro-rated risk of premature death (perhaps 15% between ages 20 and 30) and flight, and minus the slave's residual re-sale value. If she employs a day laborer every day for 10 years, she owes 13.7 tons of wheat equivalent, excluding hidden charges such as food rations. If the slave is sick or idle only 10% of the time, the equivalent cost of the day laborer drops to 12.3 tons. If actual slave maintenance exceeded the bare Catonian minimum by a mere 25% to provide supervision or reward incentives, the slave already cost as much as the day laborer at 80% employment. Under these circumstances, it would make sense to own slaves instead of hiring laborers in only two cases: if slaves were significantly more productive than free labor, and if hired labor was hard to come by and/or unreliable. As for the first

⁴² 3-4.25 *modii* x 12 x HS3 = HS 108-153 for wheat; 7-10 quadrantals x HS 6-12 = HS 42-120 (HS 12 is the lowest recorded wine price in Pompeii [R. DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 364]; but cf. Cato, *Agr.* 104 for a disheartening account of the preparation of the 'wine' for his slaves, featuring must, vinegar and sea-water — it is not clear how to price this concoction in market terms, and my estimate is therefore necessarily on the high side); HS 16 for salt (extrapolated from Egyptian data: H.-J. DREXHAGE, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 39-41); HS 20-30 x 1/2 = HS 10-15 for a cheap tunic (extrapolated from Egyptian data: H.-J. DREXHAGE, *op. cit.* [n. 6], p. 355-363); and HS 8-16 x 1/2 = HS 4-8 for the shoes (a guess based on Sen., *Ben.* VII 21.1-2 and Lucian, *Dial. meret.* 7.2, 14.2-3); for a total of between HS 180 and 312. M.M. MARKLE, *art. cit.* (n. 35), p. 296 estimates annual maintenance costs of 65 drachmas for an Athenian slave, or 455-520 kg of wheat equivalent.

⁴³ I select the lower limit to make slaveownership seem more profitable, i.e., to weaken my argument below.

factor, slaves are apt to outperform hired labor in low-skill rural tasks on large plantations; no such estates are known from Roman Egypt⁴⁴. None of the 36 slave-owning households (out of 233 households overall) covered in the census returns from Middle Egypt owned more than 13 slaves, and 22 of them just one or two⁴⁵. Regarding the second factor, Egypt was endowed with an unusually ‘thick’ rural labor market: population densities were much higher than in most pre-industrial countries, and population pressure may well have been an issue⁴⁶. At the same time, slave prices were relatively high — that is, broadly in line with Mediterranean averages (see above, Table 3) —, thanks to the pull of the Italian market rather than local demand. In this environment, slaves were luxury items: most households did not own any slaves⁴⁷; most that did only had one or two; we only know of one large-scale slave-holding (*P. Oxy.* 3197, with 59 slaves), located in Alexandria, where wealth must have been disproportionately concentrated⁴⁸. As far as we can tell, slave labor did not play a great role in production. Hired labor and tenancy were the dominant labor arrangements.

Classical Athens provides a counterpoint to this ‘low-equilibrium’ scenario. Consider the case of an Athenian slave-owner who buys an unskilled slave aged 20 for a generous 2 tons of wheat equivalent, and puts him on the Cato diet⁴⁹. After ten years, total costs will come to 9 tons, subject to the same qualifications as before. Alternatively, supporting a hired laborer at 1-1.5 drachmas per day would have cost between 3,650 and 5,475 drachmas over the same period, or a whopping 26 to 44 tons

⁴⁴ For the scarcity of slaves in Egyptian farming in general, see J.A. STRAUS, *L’esclavage dans l’Égypte romaine*, ANRW II 10.1, Berlin and New York 1988, p. 841-911, at p. 873-874.

⁴⁵ R.S. BAGNALL – B.W. FRIER, *op. cit.* (n. 6), p. 48-49, 264. The sale of 13 slaves conducted between two Roman citizens with Latin names that is recorded in *P. Lips.* II 142 (Ptolemais Euergetis, AD 148) is truly exceptional, and not representative of patterns of slave-ownership in the Greco-Egyptian population.

⁴⁶ Cf. B.W. FRIER, *Demography*, CAH XI, Cambridge 2000², p. 787-816, at p. 814, and *More is Worse: Some Observations on the Population of the Roman Empire*, in W. SCHEIDEL (ed.), *Debating Roman Demography*, Leiden 2001, p. 139-159.

⁴⁷ See above, and also R.S. BAGNALL – B.W. FRIER – I. RUTHERFORD, *The Census Register P. Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar’s Paean*, Brussels 1997, p. 98, for low levels slaveownership in the census register *P. Oxy.* 984 (from Ptolemais or Lykopolis): five out of 36 households owned a total of 13 slaves.

⁴⁸ Cf. I. BIEZUNSKA-MALOWIST, *L’esclavage à Alexandrie dans la période gréco-romaine*, in *Actes du colloque 1973 sur l’esclavage*, Paris 1976, p. 291-312.

⁴⁹ In this case, I choose the higher limit of 700kg/year to make slaveownership seem less profitable, once again to weaken my argument. M.M. Markle’s estimate (*art. cit.* [n. 35], p. 296) of 455-520 kg of wheat equivalent is considerably lower.

of wheat equivalent. Even with 20% downtime and at one-and-a-half times the (top) Cato diet, the slave-owner would spend no more than 12.5 tons over 10 years, compared to 21-35 tons for the day laborer. This shows that no reasonable amount of fiddling with the variables can alter the basic fact that it must have paid to buy slaves instead of relying on hired labor. This is true *a fortiori* if we consider the impact of the comparatively 'thin' free labor market of the classical Athenian polis⁵⁰. High real wages indicate labor scarcity. Imported slaves were both cheaper and more dependable than free wage-laborers. In this environment, it may even have been profitable to keep slaves simply to hire them out.

This creates an apparent paradox. If slave labor was so competitive and readily available, why didn't demand increase until slave prices rose to less inviting levels and the value of free labor fell? I suspect that slave markets may have been limited in scope: Greek states that relied on more archaic forms of bondage had lower incentives to bid for slaves; and even within the 'slave-society' poleis of central Greece, only a limited proportion of the population would control sufficient resources to invest in chattel slaves. In conjunction with abundant supplies from many different regions, these factors may have stabilized slave prices at relatively low levels.

In this comparative evaluation, the Roman Republican period assumes the role of the missing link. There are no reliable price data for slaves from this period, and occasional references to ransom rates are a poor substitute. According to Liv. XXII 58, Hannibal set ransom tariffs of 100, 200, 300 and 500 denarii for each slave, allied infantryman, Roman infantryman, and cavalryman captured at Cannae in 216 BC. It remains doubtful whether the rhetorical claim (in a presumably fictitious speech) that it would be cheaper for the state to ransom 8,000 prisoners at those rates than to purchase the same number of slaves for military service (XXII 59) can be taken as evidence that young male slaves of fighting age normally sold for more than *c.* 250 denarii (i.e., the mean for Roman and allied infantrymen, who must have made up the bulk of the prisoners). It also merits attention that the ransom for a captured slave was set at only 100 denarii. Ransom tariffs reported in other contexts vary widely⁵¹, and it remains unclear how they relate to typical slave prices,

⁵⁰ W. SCHEIDEL, *art. cit.* (n. 4).

⁵¹ For ransom rates of 500 drachmas (for male war captives) in Greece in 304 and 195 BC, see Diod. Sic. XX 84.6; Liv. XXXIV 50.6; but contrast much lower rates of 100 drachmas in Sicily in 387 BC (Diod. Sic. XIV 111); 120 drachms (*SEG* XXIV 254, *c.* 264/3 BC),

especially since the rescue of relatives or fellow-citizens may have warranted payment of a premium over conventional market valuations. In the Republican period, mass enslavement events would repeatedly depress slave prices and facilitate acquisitions⁵². Real wages are empirically unknown: however, in the most general terms, strong growth in the slave population logically presupposes both a relative scarcity of free labor and corresponding demand for goods and services generated by slave labor. By contrast, it would be difficult to argue for the co-existence of a growing slave population and a large population of destitute free workers: in this scenario, both the motives for the purchase of slaves and the sources of demand for their goods and services would remain obscure⁵³. In the absence of quantifiable evidence, we can only hypothesize that conditions in Italy and Sicily during the last two or three centuries BC bore a greater resemblance to classical Athens than to Egypt or even Italy itself in the first few centuries AD. As I have argued elsewhere⁵⁴, high demands on the free population, rapid accumulation of capital within the elite, easy access to slave markets, and the growth of markets for goods and services both within and outside Italy can be expected to have generated a similar environment of relatively high real wages and low slave prices.

In as much as the real cost of slave labor can be determined for different regions and periods, the evidence is consistent with the notion that the success of chattel slavery as a labor regime critically depended on the relationship between labor supply and labor demand. In an environment characterized by strong and unpredictable time commitments of the citizenry, high levels of mobility and reliable access to far-flung slave markets, slave labor was a competitive option. Classical Athens is a case

and 200 drachmas in Sicily in 254 BC (Diod. Sic. XXIII 18.5). For further discussion, see G. PRACHNER, *Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Lösegeld-Forderungen für Kriegsgefangene im 4. und 3. Jahrhundert v.Chr., zu den Verkaufserlösen bei einer Auktion im Jahre 293 v.Chr. und Sklavenpreisen im italisch-sizilischen und griechischen Raum sowie in Ägypten*, *Laverna* 6 (1995), p. 1-40.

⁵² For scattered references to extremely low slave prices in this context in general, see H. VOLKMANN, *Die Massenversklavungen der Einwohner eroberter Städte in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1990², p. 118. Cf. also the putative low cost of slaves from Gaul acquired in exchange for Italian wine: Diod. Sic. V 26.4. Slave prices in Plautus and Terence are generally much higher and apparently distorted for comical effect: P.P. SPRANGER, *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz*, Stuttgart 1984², p. 42-45.

⁵³ I note in passing that these logical correlations speak against the adoption of very high estimates of the number of Roman citizens in Italy: for discussion, see W. SCHEIDEL, *Human Mobility in Roman Italy, I: The Free Population*, *JRS* 94 (2004), p. 1-26, at p. 2-9.

⁵⁴ W. SCHEIDEL, *art. cit.* (n. 4).

in point, and we have to reckon with similarly favorable conditions in Republican Italy⁵⁵. In a low-commitment area with stable and well-endowed free labor markets such as Roman Egypt, by contrast, real labor costs were much lower, and the use of slaves was correspondingly costlier in real terms and therefore less common. Real slave prices varied in accordance with local preconditions that favored or constrained the application of slave labor.

Stanford University
Department of Classics

Walter SCHEIDEL

⁵⁵ For the development of slavery in imperial Italy, see W. SCHEIDEL, *art. cit.* (n. 4).

THE PARALLELOGRAM AND THE PINECONE

DEFINITION OF GEOGRAPHICAL SHAPES IN GREEK AND ROMAN GEOGRAPHY ON THE EVIDENCE OF STRABO

Abstract: How to define geographical shapes through words? This paper approaches this question by surveying and discussing the use of metaphors and similes in Greek and Roman geographical descriptions. It studies the variety of objects used in geographical similes by various authors and explores their function stylistically and structurally. Strabo's *Geography* is particularly central to this discussion both because it features as the largest and most comprehensive ancient geographical work extant today, and because its author had a tendency to use similes to describe shapes. The conclusions therefore pertain to the relationship between graphic and verbal presentations of geographical features and contribute also to the question of Strabo's adherence to graphic maps.

One of the features inherent in the primary meaning and notion of geography is the written description of the earth or the land, intended to transform visual impressions into words. Such visual impressions contain mainly three components related to the objects seen: size, shape and colour. In the description of space and particular sites in a geographical survey, the author usually tries to inform the reader about objects in places the reader has never visited. While modern professional geography relies on technical abstract descriptions using photographs, maps, diagrams and statistics, ancient Greek and Roman geography was limited to verbal descriptions. Early geographers needed some pictorial images in order to transmit visual impressions through words, thus establishing a sort of verbal cartography.

An attempt to do this, and for that matter to describe any experience, would have to rely on previous experiences, particularly by the use of familiar objects or sites to describe unfamiliar ones. Evidently, notions of 'familiar' and 'unfamiliar' are in their essence relative and culture-dependent. Moreover, not only social units differ in their acquaintance with certain objects but also individuals within each society: what is known to Theophilus is not necessarily known to Theomnestus. Thus, for a description of new experiences and sights to be accurate and clear, it must be based on a common set of images¹.

¹ See for instance the images in the writings of American geologists of the late nineteenth century in Y.F. TUAN, *Use of Simile and Metaphor in Geographical Descriptions*,

It is this idea which forms the premise for the present study: by examining the use of similes in ancient descriptions of geographical shapes, I hope to offer some insights into this literary and conceptual practice in some Greek and Roman geographical narratives. The questions comprising this endeavour are: (a) what objects are used in geographical similes? (b) which authors use such similes? (c) to what extent are these similes typical to particular authors? (d) how do these similes function stylistically and structurally?

My point of departure is the use of similes for outlining geographical shapes as it appears in the *Geography* of Strabo of Amasia². The discussion, however, expands to deal with this literary and conceptual phenomenon in its broader occurrence in other ancient geographical descriptions. Although the geographers, or better the authors who engaged in geographical descriptions³, were not always directly acquainted with the sites they described, they still needed to find a way — either based on earlier written and drawn sources or originally their own — to deliver a coherent idea of shape to their audience. The justification to focus on Strabo and through his work to draw a broader picture, lies in the fact that

The Professional Geographer 9 (1957), 5, p. 8-11. On pre-existing conceptual models particularly in a geographical context, see J.K. WRIGHT, *Terrae Incognitae: the Place of the Imagination in Geography*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 37 (1947), p. 1-15; D. LOWENTHAL, *Geography, Experience and Imagination: Towards a Geographical Epistemology*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 51 (1961), p. 241-260, which is scientifically out-of-date but includes important ideas presently relevant; H.C. DARBY, *The Problem of Geographical Description*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 30 (1962), p. 1-14; D. HARVEY, *Explanation in Geography*, London 1969; C. NICOLET, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor (MI) 1991, p. 1-9, 57-74; K. CLARKE, *Between Geography and History. Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Oxford 1999, p. 71 and n. 169.

² Main recent studies on Strabo's work and personality are: F. PRONTERA (ed.), *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera*, vol. 1, Perugia 1984; G. MAD-DOLI (ed.), *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera*, vol. 2, Perugia 1986; D. AMBAGLIO, *Gli Historika Hypomnemata di Strabone*, *MIL* 39 (1990), p. 377-425; R. SYME, *Anatolica. Studies in Strabo*, Oxford 1995; K. CLARKE, *In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography*, *JRS* 87 (1997), p. 92-110; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 1); S. POTHECARY, *The Expression 'Our Times' in Strabo's Geography*, *CPh* 92 (1997), p. 235-246, and ID., *Strabo, the Tiberian Author: Past, Present and Silence in Strabo's Geography*, *Mnemosyne* 55 (2002), p. 387-438; J. ENGELS, *Die strabonische Kulturgeographie in der Tradition der antiken geographischen Schriften und ihre Bedeutung für die antike Kartographie*, *Orbis Terrarum* 4 (1998), p. 63-114, and ID., *Augusteische Oikumenogeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*, Stuttgart 1999; D. DUECK, *The Date and Method of Composition of Strabo's Geography*, *Hermes* 127 (1999), p. 467-478, and EAD., *Strabo of Amasia; a Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome*, London 2000.

³ On geographical descriptions as an inseparable part of historiography see an elaborate discussion in K. CLARKE, *op. cit.* (n. 1).

in the *Geography* we find the largest collection of geographical similes in one composition. This may be ascribed to the large scope of his entire opus which necessarily produced a long survey including numerous details. Of course, definite conclusions regarding ancient texts are always unattainable on account of the partial preservation of written material. After all, we do not know the exact content of the complete works of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Polybius and others. Nevertheless, as I hope to show, I have grounds to suggest with due caution that it was Strabo in particular who favoured such similes.

I

As said, one feature in Strabo's *Geography*, which clearly relies on earlier traditions, is the description of shapes of geographical and topographical details such as regions, mountains and rivers, by means of similes referring to familiar objects. Strabo uses such comparisons also to convey ideas other than mere shapes; for instance, in his description of the inhabitants of the Cassiterides islands (now Scilly) he says:

[They] wear black cloaks, go clad in tunics that reach to their feet, wear belts around their breasts, walk around with canes, and resemble the goddesses of Vengeance in tragedies (ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποινᾶι) (III 5.11)⁴.

The comparison evidently emerges from a specific culture and atmosphere common to the author and to his proposed readership. Strabo expected his audience to gain a clearer idea of the appearance of these foreign people through the several words composing the simile, which hold an entire set of mental associations⁵. Timaeus used the same comparison earlier in a detailed description of the Daunian women of Apulia⁶. We

⁴ Unless otherwise specified, all translations are those of the *LCL* with minor adaptations.

⁵ Cf. Polybius' use of theatrical imagery in III 91.8-10, and K. CLARKE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 85-86.

⁶ *FGrHist* 566 F 55: «...whenever Greeks meet the Daunian women covered with clothes, girded with wide ribbons, wearing hollowed shoes, holding canes in their hands, spreading over their faces a sort of red colour — they hold them as the goddesses of Vengeance in tragedy» (my translation). Cf. F. LASSERRE, *Strabon, Géographie II*, Paris 1966, p. 203, who ascribes the comparison in Strabo to Posidonius. Note that Herodotus refers to the Black-cloaks (Μελαγχλαῖνοι) who live north of Scythia (IV 20; IV 101), deriving their name from their black garments (IV 107); cf. Hec. *FGrHist* 1 F 185; and see also the reference to the attire of the people of Borysthene who were influenced by the Scythian Black-cloaks in Dio Chrys. XXXVI 7.

may therefore suppose that either Strabo borrowed this simile directly from Timaeus, or through an intermediate source, or that both Timaeus and Strabo independently used a third source, or else that it had become a common and widespread simile denoting a certain appearance. In any case, both Strabo and Timaeus use it to describe the unusual appearance of foreign people but each of them applies it to a different group.

In another context, Strabo again applies an idea from the surroundings of the typical Greek polis to the realm of geography, adding thus certain cultural connotations to a primarily simple geographical description. Referring to Greece and particularly to the Peloponnese he says at the beginning of book 8:

Greece consists of two very large bodies of land; the part inside the isthmus and the part outside... the part inside the isthmus is both larger and most famous. The Peloponnese is, one might say, the acropolis of Greece as a whole, for apart from the splendour and power of the tribes that have lived in it, the very topography of Greece... suggests such hegemony for it (VIII 1.3).

Here the metaphor⁷ comparing the Peloponnese to an acropolis does not relate — as one may expect — to the shape or the topographic elevation of the peninsula, but rather to the historical importance and strategic power which contributed to its hegemony, as an acropolis dominates the entire polis. In this sense the elevation and importance are metaphorical and not physical.

There are several literary precedents for the use of 'acropolis' as a metaphor for outstanding men or for parts of the human body: Theognis refers to a leader as «being an acropolis and tower»; Plato depicts the head as the acropolis of reason which rules the 'tribe' of desires; and Aristotle speaks about the heart as the acropolis of the body⁸. With reference to particular geographical places we find Delphi defined as the acropolis of the Phocians by Euripides, and Simonides depicts Corinth at the time of the Persian wars as «the acropolis of the Greeks»⁹. Polybius depicts the Alps as an acropolis to Italy; Thermus — to Aetolia; and

⁷ Note the accepted distinction between a simile where A is compared to B and a metaphor where A is said to be B. We shall see that the method of shape description in Strabo and in other geographical texts relies mainly on similes rather than on metaphors.

⁸ Theog. 233; Plat., *Tim.* 70a; Arist., *PA* 670a26. See also Plat., *Rep.* 560b where the soul is an acropolis whose watchmen and guardians are studies and honourable pursuits.

⁹ Eur., *Or.* 1094; Simon. XIV 4 Page (1981). Cf. Amyntes II 8 Page (1981), and see discussion in D.L. PAGE, *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981, p. 207-211.

Ephesus — to Ionia¹⁰. Similarly, the Romans considered Gaul their own acropolis, for its position above Italy and Rome was strategically important¹¹. The Peloponnese specifically as the acropolis of Greece appears before Strabo in an epigram by Ion of Samos and was probably current also in a Delphic oracle. Thus, Strabo may have taken an already existing poetic formula which held some political significance¹².

Both comparisons — to the tragic goddesses and to an acropolis — embody ideas of appearance and significance inherent in the Hellenistic culture. This fact highlights the issue, central to the present discussion, of the common cultural basis an author has or may count on having with his intended audience. The following detailed survey will hopefully add further depth to this point.

II

In the introductory remarks to the *Geography* Strabo says:

A country is well defined when it is possible to define it by rivers or mountains or sea, and also by a tribe or tribes, by a size of such and such proportions, and by shape where this is possible. But in every case, in lieu of a geometrical definition, a simple and roughly outlined definition is sufficient. So, as regards a country's size, it is sufficient if you state its greatest length and breadth... and as regards shape, if you liken a country to one of the geometrical figures... or to one of the other well known figures (γνώριμα σχήματα)... (II 1.30)¹³.

Strabo here presents several methods for defining a country:

1. through its natural and ethnic assets which form its boundaries;
2. through measurements of its size;
3. through a comparison to geometrical figures;
4. through a comparison to well-known figures.

¹⁰ III 54.2; V 8.6; XVIII 40a respectively. Cf. K. CLARKE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 101-102, 118-119.

¹¹ See Plut., *Cat. Min.* 33.3; App., *BC* III 27; cf. Cic., *Phil.* V 37; *Prov.* 33-34 where the Alps are presented as part of Italy's wall.

¹² Ion Samius fr. 1.4 Diehl (1950), p. 87. See discussion in R. BALADIÉ, *La Peloponnese de Strabon: étude de géographie historique*. Paris 1984, p. 283-285, including an examination of the historical relevance of this political metaphor.

¹³ This seems to echo Polybius' approach in V 21.5. On Strabo's reliance on Polybius, both in detail and in scholarly orientation, see D. DUECK, *Strabo of Amasia* (n. 2), p. 46-53.

While features (1) and (2) are objective and thus scientific, features (3) and (4) are subjective and depend on the eyes of the beholder, feature (4) being even more connected with personal associations and imagination. Moreover, the definition of a country's shape depends primarily on the determination of its boundaries. Thus, (1) is a pre-requisite for (3) and (4). It is precisely these two latter features which are the theme of the present study.

According to Strabo, one should preferably look for a geometrical similarity between a country's shape and a suitable geometrical figure. If this does not apply, then one may turn for other shapes as long as they are well-known. The following presentation thus pattern on Strabo's dual categorization of geometrical and non-geometrical figures. To this I have added a division into groups according to fields of imagery and realms of daily life from which the similes are taken. As will be shown, this study deals both with shapes as visible for anyone on the earth's surface and shapes only visible from the air, and hence only in the imagination of Strabo's contemporaries. The second kind of these similes of shape presupposes cratographic tendencies in the form of mental maps. I should emphasise that in the entire study I have deliberately excluded the factor of distances and measurements, which clearly influence not only the size of the shapes but also their mental formation¹⁴.

GEOMETRICAL FIGURES

The use of geometrical figures to denote the shape of country borders and topographic features does not fall exactly into the category of a simile because it calls on geometric shapes to describe the shape of a geographical feature and not on objects whose shape resembles a similar geographical shape. That is, it is more straightforward than a simile or a metaphor. However, I have included these instances in the present study for several reasons. First, the use of geometric figures to denote shapes may nevertheless be considered parallel to the use of similes in the sense that it borrows a certain defined shape from one realm (mathematics) and applies it to another realm (geography). Second, the literary and intellectual role of this application is identical to the use of similes of actual

¹⁴ These considerations feature in modern maps of Strabo's world and in various brief discussions, e.g. in the *LCL* edition of Strabo, vol. I, p. 296, 328, 343-345.

objects: in both cases the author intends to create in the mind of his reader an association of a well-known shape with a lesser known one so as to facilitate the understanding of the physical situation of the land. Third, Strabo and his predecessors, mainly Eratosthenes, clearly prefer geometric figures in descriptions of shapes¹⁵.

Geographers before Strabo already perceived shapes of countries in an abstract two-dimensional way (without the assistance of aerial photos). This conceptualization probably emerged from the *Periploi* (circumnavigations) both in their primary meaning of an actual mode of ancient sea-travel and in their sense of a pre-geographical literary genre. The comprehension of contours of countries was therefore an important step in the formation of a cartographic thinking and was the basis for the creation of maps. There is evidence to the effect that maps — whether on a flat surface or on a globe — were formed by Greek scholars as early as the sixth century B.C.E. Strabo himself discusses some theoretical problems related to maps¹⁶.

Strabo expected not only from geographers but also from his readers a basic knowledge of geometry:

Most of all, it seems... we need... geometry (γεωμετρία) and astronomy for a subject like geography. And the need for them is real indeed, for without such methods as they offer it is not possible accurately to determine our geometrical figures, latitudes, dimensions and the other cognate things (I 1.20).

The geographer does not write... for the man of affairs of the kind who has paid no attention to the mathematical sciences (μαθήματα) properly so called... the geographer urges upon his students that they first master those principles... and hence his students will more unerringly make the application of his teachings if they listen as mathematicians. But he refuses to teach geography to persons not thus qualified (II 5.1)¹⁷.

¹⁵ C. VAN PAASSEN, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, Groningen 1957, refers to Strabo's «diagrammatisation of reality» (p. 6) and to «the morphographical character of Eratosthenes' map of the world» (p. 38).

¹⁶ For instance in II 5.1; II 5.10; II 5.15. On the development of Greek and Roman cartography, see O.A.W. DILKE, *Greek and Roman Maps*. London 1985, p. 26-27, 35; J.B. HARLEY – D. WOODWARD (eds.), *The History of Cartography*. vol. 1, Chicago–London 1987, p. 130-176; J. ENGELS, *Oikumenengeographie* (n. 2), esp. p. 359-365; K. BRODERSEN, *Mapping (in) the Ancient World*, *JRS* 94 (2004). On the *Periploi* see O.A.W. DILKE, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 130-137. The Greeks and the Romans, however, tended more towards linear thought and had fewer chances to develop skills for cartographic 'reading' as compared with modern societies, on which see E. RAWSON, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*, Baltimore 1985, p. 259; K. BRODERSEN, *Terra Cognita. Studien zur römischen Raumerfassung*, Hildesheim 1995.

¹⁷ On Strabo and geometry see G. AUJAC, *Strabon et la science de son temps*. Paris 1966, p. 92, 101-103.

This pre-requisite enabled Strabo to elucidate shapes by using accepted sets of geometric concepts and models. Accordingly, he confidently applies various geometric shapes to the description of places and countries around the world¹⁸. By applying the Greek suffix –ειδός to words denoting geometrical shape, Strabo (following his predecessors) produces a grammatical construction of a simile¹⁹. Thus he uses the sphere to outline the form of the earth²⁰:

... The earth together with the sea is sphere-shaped (σφαιροειδής) and the surface of the earth is one and the same with that of the high seas; for the elevations on the earth's surface would disappear from consideration, because they are small in comparison with the great size of the earth and admit of being overlooked. And so we use 'sphere-shaped' for figures of this kind, not as though they were turned on a lathe, nor yet as the geometrician uses the sphere for demonstration, but as an aid to our conception of the earth, and that too a rather rough conception (II 5.5).

Strabo makes this definition of shape specifically in the footsteps of Eratosthenes although we know of concepts of the universe (κόσμος) as well as of the earth in spherical terms already held by Parmenides and the Pre-Socratic philosophers²¹. Thus, he does not present here a new concept. However, what is conspicuous is Strabo's emphasis on the approximation of the application of shapes, which is in fact a key notion in his entire use of similes denoting shapes: Strabo never pretends to make accurate comparisons of completely identical shapes but rather aspires to give his readers an idea of the general form of things «as an aid to our conception» (πρὸς αἴσθησιν).

Taking the same approach, Strabo accepts Eratosthenes' concept of the shape of India as a rectilinear (ὁ εὐθυγράμμος σχῆμα), rhomboidal

¹⁸ Strabo often incorporates geometrical comments in his work: the Nile passes through Egypt in a straight line (ἐπ' εὐθείας – XVII 1.3); the mountain range of Ida forms a semi-circular line (ἡμικυκλιώδη – XIII 1.34); the island of Nysiros is round (στρογγύλη – X 5.16); the stony plain between Massilia and the outlets of the Rhodanus is circular (κυκλοτερές – IV 1.7) For a systematic presentation of the main geometrical shapes based on Euclidean definitions, see *Der Neue Pauly*, art. *Mathematik*, vol. VII (1999), col. 1021-1022.

¹⁹ Other technical terms and phrases indicating and describing shapes are σχῆμα accompanied by one of the following: ὅμοιον, προσόμοιον, παραπλησίον, εἶδος, εἶκε, ὅψιν παρέχεσθαι. The Latin parallels are *forma* and *specie* or *similis* c. gen.

²⁰ See also I 1.20; I 3.3; I 4.1; II 5.2 and a similar notion of the Indian Brachmanes (*sic*) in XV 1.59. Cf. the *forma globata* and *forma orbis absoluti* in Plin., *NH* II 5; II 160; II 245.

²¹ See Diels-Kranz A 44, cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 1073b17; *Cael.* 286b15. See also Agathemerus summarising various concepts of the world: *GGM* II, fr. 2.

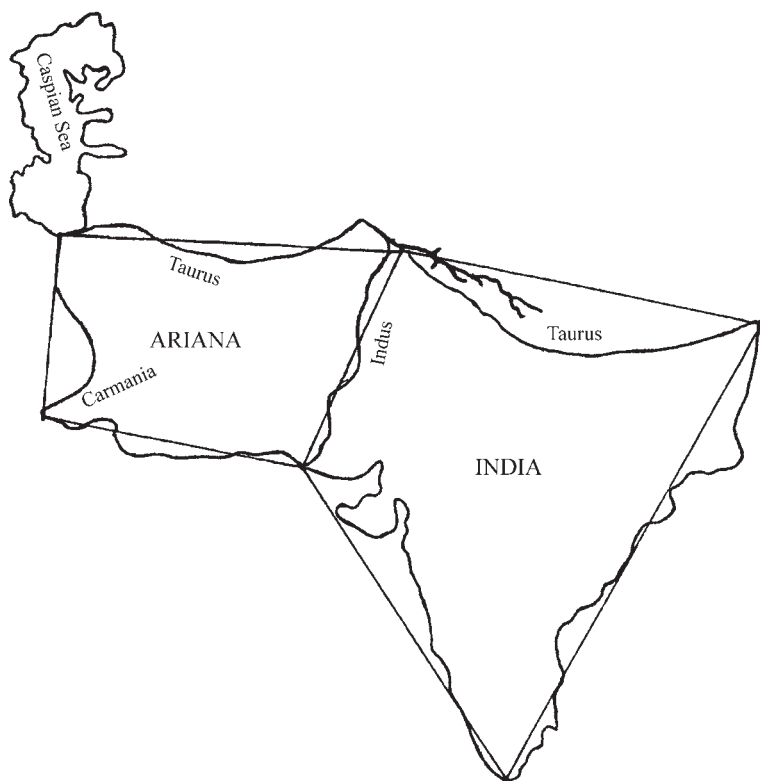


Fig. 1 – India as a rhomboid; Ariana as a quadrilateral

(ῥομβοειδής) figure (II 1.22 and fig. 1).²² He also clarifies that the depiction is part of a debate between Hipparchus and Eratosthenes: Hipparchus wished to «proceed with geometrical precision to demolish what are merely rough estimates of Eratosthenes» (II 1.34). Strabo chooses to follow the approach of Eratosthenes and consciously focuses on approximations of shapes rather than on accurate identifications.

The contours of the geographical shape of India are determined by seashores, mountain ranges and rivers. All three geographical and topographical features are linear in nature and form natural borders creating

²² See also II 1.31; II 1.34; XV 1.11; cf. D.R. DICKS (ed.), *The Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus*, London 1960, fr. 25. See also India as a rhombus in later geographies in *GGM* II, p. 424, ll. 1128-1140.

a definable shape. The neighbouring Ariana is geometrically defined as a quadrilateral (τετράπλευρον) shape by using three of the lines that played a part in the description of the shape of India (XV 2.1 and fig.1), but the fourth, western, side of the country is a bit evasive²³:

Although he [Eratosthenes] sees that it [Ariana] has at least three sides well suited to the formation of the figure of parallelogram (παράλληλογράμμον), and although he cannot define the western side by limits, on account of the fact that the tribes there alternate with one another, yet he represents that side by a sort of line that begins at the Caspian gates and ends at the capes of Carmania that are next to the Persian gulf. Accordingly, he calls this side 'western' and the side along the Indus 'eastern', but he does not call them parallel; neither does he call the other two sides parallel, namely the one marked by the mountain, and the one marked by the sea, but he merely calls them 'the northern' and 'the southern' sides (II 1.22).

Eratosthenes thus avoided using a definite shape to describe Ariana, particularly due to its unclear western boundary. This side of the country, according to what Strabo presents as Eratosthenes' view, was based on ethnic distribution which indeed cannot be as linear as a river or a shore. In the case of Ariana the alternating tribes made an accurate linear definition more difficult and less clear. This case brings up an alternative definition of borders. Throughout the *Geography* the primary division of regions is based on natural features. These natural traits determine also ethnic distribution by physically limiting the spread of certain ethnic groups and at the same time guarding their ethnic entity by preventing mixture with or conquest by other nations²⁴. Thus, in places where ethnic distribution was not determined by a natural limit — a river, a mountain, a coastline — the drawing of a border, whether physically or mentally was a more complicated task.

This is not the case regarding the Roman province of Narbonensis. There Strabo points to four border lines determined by the natural situation which create the general shape of a parallelogram (fig. 2):

The figure of Narbonitis is approximately (πῶς) a parallelogram since on the west it is traced by the Pyrenees and on the north by the Cemmenus. As for the remaining sides, the southern is formed by the sea between the Pyrenees and Massilia, the eastern by the Alps partly and also by the intervening distance taken in a straight line with the Alps between the Alps and those foot-hills of the Cemmenus that reach down to the Rhodanus and form a right angle with the aforesaid straight

²³ On the confusion of Ariana's western side see also II 1.31.

²⁴ This recalls to mind the concept inherent in Caesar, *BG* I 1; I 5 etc.

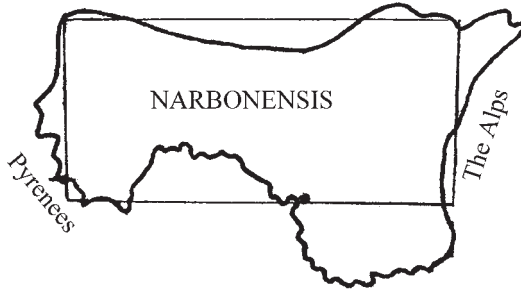


Fig. 2 – Narbonensis as a parallelogram

line from the Alps. To the southern part there belongs an addition to the aforesaid figure, I mean the seaboard that follows next... (IV 1.3).

Although one can easily see that the identification is not very accurate, the parallelogram does approximately reflect the general shape of this region. Like the description of India and Ariana, in the case of Narbonensis the outline is defined by mountain chains (Pyrenees and Alps), the Mediterranean coastline and a river (Cemmenus), all linear by nature.

Moving further in Strabo's method of defining shapes, we see that Macedonia is also defined as a sort of parallelogram but with the aid of lines which are not based merely on natural features:

Macedonia is bounded on the west by the coastline of the Adrias; on the east by the meridian line (μεσημβρινή γράμμη) which is parallel to this coastline... on the north by the imaginary (νοουμένη) straight line which runs through the Bertiscus mountain [and others] ... and on the south by the Egnatian road which runs from the city of Dyrrhachium towards the east as far as Thessalonicea. And thus the shape of Macedonia is very nearly (ἐγγιστά) that of a parallelogram (VII fr. 10 and cf. fr. 9).

Here we find in addition to the natural Adriatic coastline three other ways to define contours. I enumerate them from concrete to abstract. First, a Roman road, Via Egnatia. This line is an unnatural, man-made one, relatively new in Strabo's time. This circumstance is directly connected with the fact that in defining European regions, Strabo usually describes the shape of Roman provinces, for instance Narbonensis²⁵. Thus, a Roman

²⁵ On the European Roman provinces in Strabo, see S. POTHECARY, *The European Provinces: Strabo as Evidence*, in: D. DUECK – H. LINDSAY – S. POTHECARY (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*, Cambridge UP (forthcoming).

determinant, so to speak, is added to the natural determinants in order to describe political units which are not necessarily natural ones. Other two abstract lines described here are the conceptual eastern line which is defined merely by its parallel position in relation to the western Adriatic coastline and an imaginary line artificially presented in order to complete the shape of Macedonia into a parallelogram.

In the case of Cyprus Strabo defines the island as an oblong (ἑτερόμηκες) without identifying in detail each of its sides (XIV 6.2 and fig. 3). By Strabo's phraseology and looking at our modern maps, one can see that here, too, the relationship between the geographical outline and the geometric shape is very general and is based on approximation. All the same, the geographer tries through words to explain to his reader as best as he can the physical layout of the site.



Fig. 3 – Cyprus as an oblong

As said, Strabo by no means invented the definition of regions through geometrical figures. He had before him a long and well-established tradition of such descriptions, and he himself openly acknowledges his debt to this tradition. While Strabo refers specifically to Eratosthenes as his precedent, we may also add several examples from other extant texts. Thus, Herodotus depicted both the city of Babylon and Scythia as perfect squares (I 178; IV 101); Polybius mentions the typical equilateral square shape of a Roman camp (VI 27.2) which makes it resemble a city (VI 31.10) and Diodorus of Sicily describes Egypt as an oblong (παράμυκτης) (I 31.6).

The case of Babylon in Herodotus is unusual because it refers to a city and not to a larger region. Herodotus emphasizes that the city is not only τετραγωνῇ, but each front of its walls is equally long and in it there is also an equilateral square temple of Zeus Belus (I 181). Thus it «was planned (ἐκεκόσμητο) like no other city we know» (I 178). Strabo presents a similar description in reference to the square plan of the city of Nicaea in Bithynia:

The city is sixteen stadia in circuit and is quadrangular (τετραγώνον) in shape; it is situated in a plain, and has four gates and its streets are

cut at right angles, so that the four gates can be seen from one stone which is set up in the middle of the gymnasium (XII 4.7).

Other than hinting at a possible Strabonian visit to Nicaea²⁶, this description enables its audience to envisage the appearance of the city. In fact, the assumption of Strabo's physical presence in the city is based on the very impression that this description is almost tangible and based on a direct sensual encounter. Specifically based on autopsy, Strabo defines Cyrene as «a large city situated in a trapezium (τραπεζιον)-shaped plain, as it looked to me from the sea» (XVII 3.20).

The triangle (τριγωνον) appears often in ancient geographical descriptions as a figure applied to shapes of countries and regions. I shall first present the 'accepted' triangles and then some 'controversial' ones.

Strabo conceives of Britain as «triangular in shape and its longest side stretches parallel to Celtica» (IV 5.1). This definition of Britain was already made by Caesar:

The island is by nature triangular (*triquetra*) and one side lies opposite to Gaul. Of this side one angle (*angulus*), which is in Kent... faces the east, the lower angle faces south... (*BG* V 13.1).

Since Strabo knew Caesar's survey²⁷, we may assume that he borrowed the similarity from his Roman predecessor.

A century and a half later, Tacitus (*Agr.* X 3) presents two suggestions, one by Livy and one by Fabius Rusticus, for the shape of Britain: as an oblong little dish (*oblonga scutula*) or as a double-edged axe head (*bipennis*). Then, beyond the borders of Caledonia, «a vast and irregular tract of land runs out forming the final stretch of coast line and eventually tapers as it were into a wedge (*cuneus*)». The general shape in both cases is more quadrilateral than triangular, and may derive from the extended geographical knowledge of the island certainly in Rusticus' time (under Trajan). Ogilvie and Richmond (in their 1967 Oxford edition) have emended the text to read *oblonga scapula*, translated as «an elongated shoulder blade». They did this in order to conform with the earlier triangular concept of the island. However, this emendation seems unnecessary: *scutula*, which is what the manuscripts offer, makes perfectly good sense, and although body organs do appear in geographical similes (see below),

²⁶ See D. DUECK, *Strabo of Amasia* (n. 2), p. 25. Note that Herodotus indicates that Babylon is situated on a large flat plain, a fact which may facilitate the comprehension of its exact shape.

²⁷ See Strabo IV 1.1 cf. D. DUECK, *Strabo of Amasia* (n. 2), p. 182-183.

the shape of the *scutula* was probably more commonly known than the shape of the *scapula*²⁸.

Another traditionally triangular region is Sicily. Strabo's comment is most probably based on a similar definition by Polybius (fig. 4):

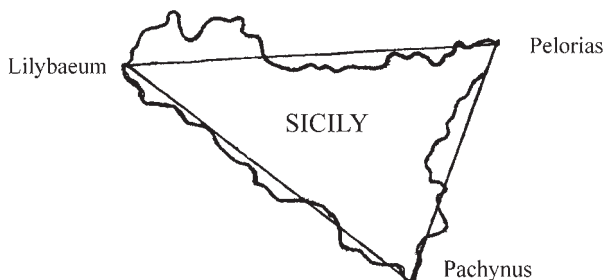


Fig. 4 – Sicily as a triangle

Polybius I 42.3	Strabo VI 2.1
Sicily is triangular in shape, the aspices (κορυφαί) of all three angles being formed by capes. The cape that looks to the south... is called Pachynus, that on the north... is called Pelorias. The third looks towards Libya... and its name is Lilybaeum.	Three capes define its shape: Pelorias... Pachynus... and third Lilybaeum... as for the sides which are marked off by the three capes, two of them are moderately concave, whereas the third, the one that reaches from Lilybaeum to Pelorias, is convex

Although one can hardly suggest a verbal borrowing, it seems that the conceptual link is tight; note that the geometric figure is defined through points and not through lines. The triangular shape of the island gave it, according to Strabo, its earlier name of Trinacria and later Thrinacis (VI 2.1)²⁹.

²⁸ See also discussion in H. FURNEAUX, *Cornelii Taciti de Vita Agricolae*, Oxford 1961², *ad loc.* For a graphic presentation of the shape of Britain according to various ancient sources including Strabo, see O.A.W. DILKE, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 47.

²⁹ On toponyms based on shape of places see below. Specifically on Sicily, see also Lucr. I 716-717; Hor., *Sat.* II 6.55 referring to *Triquetra*; Plin., *NH* III 87; Sil. V 489; Agathemerus, *GGM* II, fr. 20. Pomponius Mela (II 115) presents Sicily as a Delta, and see below on similes using letters. An island in India is also defined as triangular and compared in shape and size to the Egyptian Delta (Str. XV 1.33). See also *GGM* II, p. 412 ll. 242-253, where Egypt as a whole is likened to a triangle.



Fig. 5 – Central Greece as a multi-leveled triangle

A somewhat composite geometrical picture in which the triangle forms a frame, is presented in the description of the regions in central Greece (fig. 5):

One should conceive of the geometrical figures of these regions as though several lines were drawn in a triangle parallel to the base, for the figures thus marked off will be parallel to one another, and they will have their opposite long side parallel, but as for the short sides this is no longer the case (IX 3.1).

In this context Strabo defines this mental geometrical picture as a «rough sketch (ὀλοσχερῆς τύπος)» once again not presuming to be accurate.

On three occasions we find in Strabo an evidence for two opinions or two traditions regarding geometrical shapes of countries. These instances may reflect on a ‘professional’ debate between geographers or on a real change in geographical knowledge in different periods of time. These are the cases of Italy, Asia Minor and Libya (Africa as known at the time).

The definition of Italy’s shape exposes such a debate based on geographical knowledge and geometrical notions (fig. 6). Polybius presents in detail his idea of Italy as a triangle:

Italy as a whole has the shape of a triangle of which the one eastern side is bounded by the Ionian strait and then continuously by the Adriatic



Fig. 6 – The geometrical shape of Italy according to Polybius and Strabo

gulf, the next side that turns to the south and west, by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian seas. The apex of the triangle, formed by the meeting of these two sides is the southern-most cape of Italy known as Cocynthus... The remaining northern and inland side of the triangle is bounded continuously by the chain of the Alps which beginning at Massilia and the northern coasts of the Sardinian sea stretches in an unbroken line almost to the head of the whole Adriatic, only failing to join that sea by stopping at quite a short distance from it (Polyb. II 14.4-6).

Strabo, on the other hand, criticises this proposal and is very reluctant to accept it. He bases his opposition on geometrical grounds while engaging in a detailed discussion of some geometrical principles:

It is not easy geometrically to outline what is now Italy as a whole by means of a single figure, and yet they say (φασίν) it is a triangular promontory extending towards the south... with its vertex at the strait of Sicily and with the Alps as its base... but triangle is the specific name for the rectilinear (εὐθύγραμμον) figure, whereas in this case both the base and the side are curved... for by side we mean the line that has no angle, and a line has no angle when its parts either do not converge towards one another or else not much. But the line from Ariminum to the Iapygian cape and that from the strait to the same

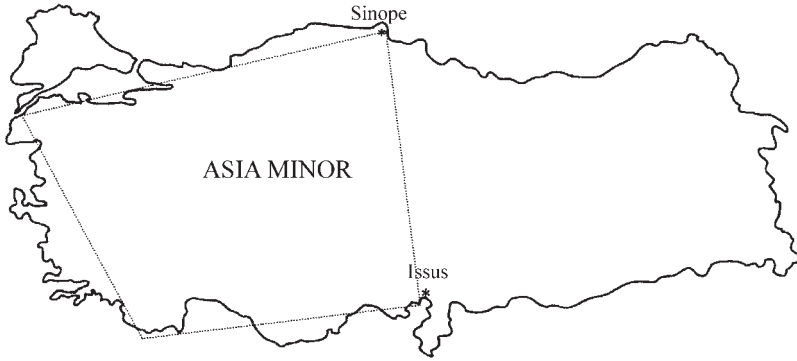


Fig. 7 – The geographical shape of Asia according to Apollodorus and Strabo

cape converge very much. And the same holds true, I think, with the line from the recess of the Adriatic and that from Iapygia... in this sense one might call the figure four sided (τετράπλευρον) rather than three sided (τρίπλευρον) but in no sense whatever a triangle except by an abuse of the term (V 1.2).

Once again we find Strabo arguing with his predecessors on matters pertaining to definition of shapes. In XIV 5.22 he forcefully rejects Apollodorus' and Artemidorus' concept of Asia, the peninsula outside the Taurus, as triangular in shape (fig. 7):

The greatest absurdity is this, that after calling the peninsula triangular in shape, he [Apollodorus] represents the 'exterior sides' as three in number, for when he speaks of the 'exterior sides' he seems to exclude the side along the narrows as though this too were a side, but not 'exterior' or on the sea. If then these narrows were so shortened that the exterior side ending at Issus and that ending at Sinope lacked but little of joining one another, one might concede that the peninsula should be called triangular; but as it is, since the narrows mentioned by him leave a distance of three thousand stadia between Issus and Sinope, it is ignorance and not knowledge of chorography to call such a four-sided (τετράπλευρον) figure triangular... the same ignorance still remains even though one should reduce the isthmus to the minimum distance... as given by those who have most belied the facts, among whom is also Artemidorus... for even this does not contract the side along the narrows enough to make the peninsula a triangular figure (XIV 5.22)³⁰.

³⁰ Cf. the quadrilateral equilateral shape of Asia in *GGM* II, p. 418, ll. 887-893.

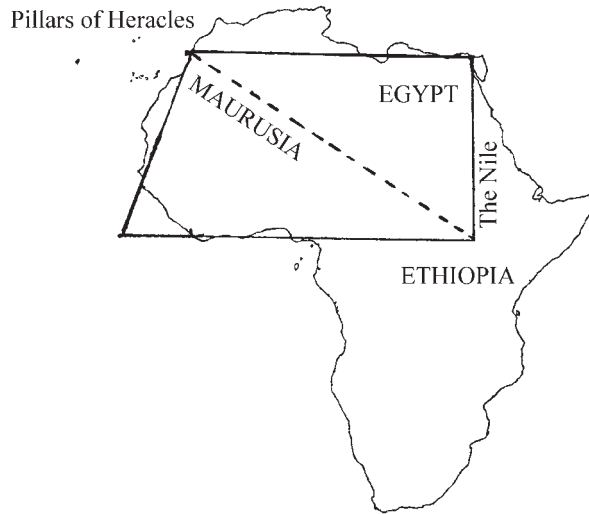


Fig. 8 – The shape of Libya as a trapezium and as a triangle

Both in the case of Italy and of Asia, Strabo refers to his predecessors, but at the same time offers his criticism and his (as far as we can tell) independent alternative suggestions. The correction of what he considers to be his predecessors' inaccuracies may derive from other sources or from Strabo's own view of the situation.

In his introductory books, Strabo presents the shape of Libya (here Africa) as a trapezium (fig. 8)³¹:

Its shore... runs in a straight line almost to the pillars [that is Gibraltar]... but its coastline on the ocean from Ethiopia to a certain point is approximately parallel to the former line, and then it draws in on the south and forms a sharp promontory which projects slightly outside the pillars and thus gives to Libya approximately ($\pi\omega\varsigma$) the shape of a trapezium (II 5.33)³².

But in the more detailed description of the region in book XVII Strabo asserts that the continent has the approximate shape of a triangle:

Libya has the shape of a right angled triangle ($\delta\rho\theta\omicron\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \tau\rho\acute{\iota}\gamma\omega\nu\omicron\nu$) conceived of as drawn on a plane surface, having as the base the coast

³¹ The trapezium also serves as a three-dimensional shape for definition of topographical elevations corresponding to the original meaning of 'table', see below.

³² Cf. *GGM* II, p. 411, ll. 174-183; 184-194.

opposite us from Egypt and the Nile to Maurusia and the Pillars, and as the side perpendicular to this that which is formed by the Nile as far as Ethiopia and drawn by us up to the ocean, and the side subtending the right angle the whole of the coast between the Ethiopians and the Maurusians (XVII 3.1).

Strabo is aware of the limits of his knowledge, which prevent him from calculating Libya's exact size. Nevertheless, he is quite confident about the general shape of the land. As in other instances, here too he is candid about the approximation of the figure and openly reveals the principle behind this method:

The whole of the coast continuous with this gulf is indented by gulfs, but one should exclude from consideration the gulfs and the projections of land, in accordance with the triangular figure which I have suggested... (XVII 3.2).

The conflict between the 'Libyan' trapezium and the 'Libyan' triangle may derive either from two separate sources reflecting different stages of geographical knowledge, or, possibly, from different approaches to the approximation of shapes, as revealed in the other cases mentioned above: Italy grasped as a triangle (Polybius) and as a four-sided shape (Strabo); Asia — a triangle (Apollodorus), or a four-sided shape (Strabo); and here Libya — a trapezium or a triangle. The geometrical variation in the Libyan definition depends on the question of whether the south-western line is straight (in the case of a triangle) or broken into two lines (thus creating a trapezium).

We have thus seen that the application of geometrical figures to geographical shapes depends on the definition of the contours of countries, regions, provinces, sometimes cities, by way of a cartographic, two-dimensional concept of outline. The application of shapes is however not always accurate. This inaccuracy was criticised by Hipparchus referring to Eratosthenes (for example in Str. II 1.34). But Strabo does not presume to make an absolute and accurate correlation between geometric or objective shapes and geographical features, and openly exposes repeatedly the principle of approximation. This is also Strabo's pretext to reprimand Hipparchus for his criticism of Eratosthenes:

Hipparchus would seem to be acting unfairly when he contradicts with geometrical accuracy a mere rough outline of this nature, instead of being grateful, as we should be, to all those who have reported to us in any way at all the physiography of the regions. But when Hipparchus does not even take his geometrical hypotheses from what Eratosthenes

says, but fabricates on his own account, he betrays his spirit of jealousy still more obviously (II 1.23).

NON-GEOMETRICAL FIGURES

As Strabo himself says (see above) another option for description of shape other than by using geometric figures, is the use of well-known objects. This is however a second-best option: «It is better to confess that the representation of non-geometrical figures is not easy to describe» (V 1.2). Some of the objects appearing in these similes are universal in the sense that they belong with natural phenomena and thus any human being with basic awareness of shapes would recognise them. Other similes rely on objects which are culture-dependent and in Strabo's case derive specifically from Hellenistic culture, reflecting the author's cultural background. I have divided the following discussion into two groups of shapes accordingly.

I have chosen particularly this division of categories because I see in the entire present discussion not only a mean to appraise ancient methods for conveying spatial objects through words with no graphic aid. The particular choice of similes is also revealing as far as the world of images of both author and reader is concerned. Were we for instance to say that we saw a mountain peak resembling a Pagoda we would have to make sure that our audience knew what a Pagoda is, and similarly other comparisons — the Black Sea as a kidney-shaped pond³³ or South America as an ice-cream cone — would be meaningless in certain cultures. Thus, it is more likely that we would initially choose for our comparison an object we are certain our listeners know. Accordingly, the collection of similes necessarily reflects on the cultural background of both authors and readers or at least on what the authors made of their proposed readership. This cultural dimension is also what lies behind the division I have made between 'universal' shapes and those deriving from Hellenistic culture.

Similes including universal details

In the group of universal details we find the likening of geographical features to shapes taken from natural elements such as human body organs, animals, plants, and astronomical figures. These are universal in the sense that their shapes are the same anywhere and their conception

³³ In N. ASCHERSON, *Black Sea*, New York 1995, p. 3.

is not dependent on a certain cultural context. The association of two shapes from two different realms which creates the simile is however a derivation of certain traditions or personal impressions. Note that similes and metaphors of shape are also central in descriptions of constellations in ancient astronomy: the Bear (already in the Homeric epics) and the Bull, mythological characters and the entire zodiac³⁴.

Organs of the human body provide a set of figures used to define geographical shapes, both topographic and cartographic. Several mountains in the *oikoumene* are compared by Strabo to a woman's breast in shape: «Mount Athos is breast shaped (μαστοειδής), has a very sharp crest and is very high» (VII fr. 33 and cf. fr. 35); Laertes in Cilicia is «a stronghold on a breast shaped hill with a mooring place» (XIV 5.3); and in Cyprus there is «a breast shaped mountain called Olympus» (XIV 6.3). In one case the breast is used as a metaphor: «The Acamas [in Cyprus] is a promontory with two breasts (δύο μαστοὺς ἔχουσα) and much timber» (XIV 6.2). This image appears already in Polybius (I 56.6) where μαστός is used as a metaphor and in V 70.6. Also Diodorus describes topographic elevations with the same simile (XVII 75.2).

The use of feet as a metaphor for the lower part of hills (πρόποδες)³⁵ does not belong to our present discussion because it does not denote shape but rather position. We find however a simile using the shape of a foot-print: Sallust compares the contours of the island of Sardinia to the shape of a «human foot (*vestigium humanum*)»³⁶. Silius Italicus also presents a derivation of the island's name based on this shape: «...the land within its border is irregular in shape, resembles the sole of a naked foot (*nuda planta*). Hence it was called Ichnusa by the first colonists from Greece»³⁷. Although Strabo seems to have a tendency to include such similes, this particular one does not appear in his work. The examples we have for this simile are indeed limited to Latin authors but the etymology is Greek: Ichnusa derives from ἰχνός, meaning «a foot-print».

Pomponius Mela has a body-simile also referring to the outline created by coastlines:

³⁴ See Hipparchus on Eudoxus and Aratus in C. MANITIUS, *Hipparchi in Arati et Eudoxi phaenomena commentariorum libri tres*, Leipzig 1894, and F. BOLL – W. GUNDEL, *Sternbilder, Sternglaube und Sternsymbolik bei Griechen und Römern*, in W.H. ROSCHER (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig 1884.

³⁵ For instance in Polyb. III 17.2; VIII 13.4; Str. IX 5.8; XIII 1.5.

³⁶ Sall., *Hist.* II fr. 2 (P. MCGUSHIN, *Sallust. The Histories*, vol. I, Oxford 1992); cf. Agathemerus, *GGM* II, fr. 20.

³⁷ Sil., *Pun.* XII 355-358; cf. Paus. X 17.2.

Where the Persian Gulf receives the sea, it encloses its large mouth with two straight sides, like a neck, and then, encompassing the sea with a great ring of shoreline as the land pulls back over a vast expanse and in equal degree everywhere, the gulf makes the form of a human head appear³⁸.

Several body metaphors are commonly used in geographical contexts. Two very early ones do not refer to shapes but rather to positions: The notion of a river's mouth (στόμα) denotes its position at the outlet and inlet of the river, just as the mouth is the entrance and the exit of the body. The navel (ὄμφαλος) denotes a central point, for instance the island of Calypso in the middle of the sea. It is most used in association with Delphi, which is situated, according to early Greek notions, at the mid point of the earth. Three other body metaphors reflect the shape of pieces of land or stretches of sea. These are the tongue (γλῶσσα), referring to projections of land; the neck (αὐχήν), alluding to narrow pieces of land or sea; the nose (ῥίς) in the sense of a projecting spur of land³⁹.

Strabo uses also animals and parts of animals to describe geographical shapes. Most of the animals he mentions in these contexts are domestic. One may distinguish between references to cartographic shapes of places as if seen from an aerial view and those referring to three-dimensional topographies. To the former belongs the comparison, perhaps Posidonian⁴⁰, of the shape of Iberia to an ox-hide (βύρση) (II 1.30). Strabo explains the correspondence between the various parts of the hide and the layout of the country: «Iberia is like an ox-hide extending in length from west to east, its foreparts toward the east, and in breadth from north to south» (III 1.3)⁴¹.

In the description of the harbour of Brentesium (Lat. Brundisium, now Brindisi) Strabo says:

... Bays are formed inside in such a way as to resemble in shape a stag's horn (κέρατα ἐλάφου); and hence the name, for along with the city, the place very much resembles a stag's head (κεφαλῆς ἐλάφου),

³⁸ Mela III 73, translated by F.E. ROMER, *Pomponius' Mela Description of the World*, Ann Arbor (MI) 1998.

³⁹ Mouth: *Il.* XII 24; *Od.* V 441; Aes., *Prom.Vinc.* 847; Hdt. II 17; Str. III 5.6; Navel: *Od.* I 50; Pind., *Pyth.* IV 74; Str. IX 3.6; Tongue: App., *Pun.* 121; Neck: Hdt. I 72; IV 85; VII 223; Xen., *Anab.* VI 2.4; Aes., *Pers.* 72; Str. VII 3.19; App., *Pun.* 120; Plin., *NH* III 43, where there is also a shoulder (*umerus*) meaning a curve; Nose: *IG* XIV 352 II 36, probably a *hapax*.

⁴⁰ F. LASSERRE, *Strabon* (n. 6), *ad loc.*

⁴¹ Cf. *GGM* II, p. 412 ll. 281-287, where there is a specification: βοεΐη βύρση. And see Agathemerus who compares the shape of Cyprus to an ox-hide: *GGM* II, fr. 26.

and in the Messapian language the head of a stag is called *brentesium* (VI 3.6)⁴².

The same simile is applied to the shape of another bay near Byzantium:

The horn (κέρας), which is close to the walls of the Byzantines, is a gulf that... resembles a stag's horn, for it is split into numerous gulfs — branches (κλάδοι) as it were (VII 6.2).

Here Strabo is assisted also by a botanical metaphor, trying to picture the gulfs as branches. In both cases the stag's horn served to denote a cartographic two-dimensional shape of the many narrow gulfs and sub-gulfs in Brentesium and Byzantium. The use of the 'horn' to describe shapes of bays appeared already at the fifth century B.C.E. in the *periplous* of Hanno the Carthaginian who mentioned two African bays — the horn of the west and the horn of the south⁴³.

We find 'horns' again, this time reflecting a topographic three-dimensional shape, in the name of the two-peaked mountain situated between Megara and Attica and called Kerata, that is 'horns' (IX 1.11 and see below). Moreover, 'horn' as a geographical metaphor denotes several geographical features: an estuary, a promontory and a mountain peak. Common to all is their projection which resembles a horn⁴⁴. Topographical elevations, also known as 'horns', were according to Xenagoras who composed at the beginning of the first century B.C.E. a treatise on islands, the origin for the appellation of Cyprus as Κεραστία⁴⁵. As in other cases (below), this is a case of toponyms reflecting shapes.

A direct quotation from Sophocles' *Trachiniae* is the pretext for the description of the river Achelous as an animated river:

Others, conjecturing the truth from the myths, say that the Achelous, like the other rivers, was called 'like a bull (ταύρῳ ἔοικός)' from the roaring of its waters, and also from the bendings of its streams which were called horns, and 'like a serpent (δρακόντι [ἔοικός])' because of its length and windings, and 'with front of ox' for the same reason that it was called 'bull faced' (X 2.19).

⁴² On toponyms based on shapes of sites see below.

⁴³ Hanno, *GGM* I, fr. 14; fr. 17. See also some Bosporan gulfs described as horns in the second-century-C.E. *Anaplous* of Dionysius of Byzantium: R. GÜNGERICH, *Dionysii Byzantii Anaplous Bospori*, Berlin 1958, §5, 6, 10, 23.

⁴⁴ Estuary: Hes., *Th.* 789; Arist., *Mu.* 393b5; Polyb. IV 43.7; Ov., *Met.* IX 774; Val. Fl. VIII 186-187; Promontory: Liv. XXXVII 11.8; Ov., *Met.* V 410; Mela III 46; Plin., *NH* III 43; V 31; Mountain peak: Xen., *Anab.* V 6.7; Val. Fl. IV 96 and below — Ithome and Acrocorinth. Note that many of the references derive from the poets, and this has to do with the affiliation of poetry and metaphors.

⁴⁵ Müller *FHG* IV, p. 527, fr. 8.

These similes give an idea also of the qualities of the river which are not limited to its shape, for example the sound of its roaring water and its length. For the present discussion the similarity between the shape of the bending of the river and a bull's horns and between the curvature of its course and the shape of a snake is significant⁴⁶.

In a very similar way, Strabo uses a poetic quotation to describe another river: the curves of the Cephissus in Boeotia are compared to the curves of a snake (δρακοντοειδῶς) through a direct quotation from Hesiod who, as we know, was a native of near-by Chaironeia (IX 3.16)⁴⁷. It is no mere chance that these similes are taken from poetic contexts since poets are more prone to use such similes. It is however noteworthy that Strabo adopts them and that they seem to communicate something of a real geographical and topographical situation⁴⁸.

In a non-linear impression of the Libyan region, Strabo relies on an image he found in an oral testimony delivered to him personally⁴⁹:

Libya is — as the others show and as Gnaeus Piso who was once the prefect of the country told me — like a leopard's skin (ἐοικυῖα παρδαλῇ), for it is spotted with inhabited places that are surrounded by waterless and desert land (II 5.33)⁵⁰.

This image has to do both with the shape of the oases and probably with their darker colour against the pale shade of the surrounding sand desert, again as if seen from an aerial two-dimensional view or possibly on a map. Unlike the usual tendency of Strabo to define shapes created by borders of regions, here he describes the scattering of the oases of the Libyan Desert.

Animals are used also to denote three-dimensional topographic features, mainly those of mountains with irregular shapes. Strabo notes the similarity between Messenia and Corinth: in both sites there is a fortified mountain — Ithome and Acrocorinthus respectively. He quotes the advice of Demetrius of Pharos given to Philip V upon his wish to conquer the Peloponnese. Demetrius told the king that he should first get Ithome and Acrocorinthus: «if you hold both horns... you will hold down the cow»

⁴⁶ On the occurrence of these metaphors in visual depictions of the river Achelous as a serpent or as a bull, see R.C. JEBB, *Sophocles: the Plays and Fragments, Part 5: The Trachiniae*, Cambridge 1892, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Hes. fr. 70, 21-3 Merkelbach-West

⁴⁸ On Strabo's use of poetic citations, see D. DUECK, *Strabo's Use of Poetry*, in: D. DUECK – H. LINDSAY – S. POTHECARY (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 25).

⁴⁹ See D. DUECK, *Strabo of Amasia* (n. 2), p. 88, 152.

⁵⁰ Cf. *GGM* II, p. 411 ll. 174-183.

(VIII 4.8)⁵¹. This allegory, based on a proverb, is not just an expression of conquest and surrender but may contain also the fact that these two sites are elevated and pointed like the horns on the head of a cow, which here symbolises the entire peninsula⁵².

Another ‘topographic’ simile is the one describing two mountains near Alabanda in Asia Minor as resembling a pack-ass (κανθήλιος) (XIV 2.26)⁵³. It is hard to know exactly what Strabo (or his source) meant, but it seems that the outline of the topography of these two mountains looked like the back of an ass carrying some cargo. Note that in English the word ‘saddle’ is used to denote a ridge connecting topographical elevations⁵⁴.

One may say that oxen, asses, stags and even snakes are part of the domestic surroundings of human societies, broadly speaking, and therefore could readily serve as common and well-known sources for images. However, in one case Strabo uses an exceptional zoological simile with no parallel: «Mount Ida has many foot-hills (πρόποδες), is like a centipede in shape (σκολοπενδρώδης) and is defined by its two extreme limits» (XIII 1.5).

Plants also serve as a basis for well-known shapes in geographical imagery both of flat shapes and of voluminous ones. Describing the contours of the Peloponnese, Strabo compares its shape to that of the leaf of a plane tree (πλατάνου φύλλον) (II 1.30, VIII 2.1) (fig. 9). Pliny (*NH* IV 9) uses the same simile (*platani folio similis*) on the Peloponnese, and elsewhere (*NH* III 43) compares the shape of Italy to an oak-leaf (*folium quernum*). Note that since the 12th century the Peloponnese, being under the Byzantine Empire, was named Morea because of its resemblance to a mulberry (*morus* in Latin) leaf⁵⁵.

⁵¹ Cf. Polyb. VII 12 (11).2-3; Plut., *Aratus* 50.4.

⁵² J. KEIM, *Sprichwörter paroemiographische Überlieferung bei Strabo*, Tübingen 1909, p. 8, assumes, probably rightly, that the proverb is older than the anecdote. See for instance the English proverb ‘take the bull by the horns’, meaning to meet a difficulty rather than evade it, see *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*. Oxford 1970, p. 800. In the present discussion, however, it is rather significant that the proverb also contains a possible topographic meaning pertaining to shape.

⁵³ The only other known use of this simile to denote a certain curvature appears in Xen., *Cyr.* VII 5.11: «... it is a well-known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of pack-asses (ὥσπερ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι)».

⁵⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. ‘saddle’; cf. the German ‘Sattel’.

⁵⁵ *Webster’s New Geographical Dictionary*, Springfield (MA) 1972, s.v. ‘Peloponnese 1’. See also *GGM* II, p. 414-415 ll. 403-422, where there is a specification of the correspondence of the isthmus with the branch of the leaf which is thin like the tail of a mouse (δίκην μὲν οὐρᾶς) and the rest of the peninsula which resembles a much-twisted leaf because of the numerous gulfs on its shores.



Fig. 9 – The Peloponnese as plane leaf

The pinecone is used twice to denote a three-dimensional topographic shape, one natural, the other artificial: the mountain on which Pergamon is situated «is like a pinecone (στροβιλοειδές) and ends in a sharp peak» (XIII 4.1). And in Nicopolis, Egypt, there is «... the Paneium, a height which was made by the hand of man; it has the shape of a pinecone, resembles a rocky hill, and is ascended by a spiral road» (XVII 1.10).

The final ‘universal’ simile in this section is the one comparing the shape of Attica (IX 1.3) (fig. 10) and the foothills near the Caspian which form the recess of the gulf in Armenia (XI 7.1) to a crescent (μηνοειδής). This simile was used before Strabo to denote tactical and strategic military formations and he adopts it into a geographical context⁵⁶. Pliny

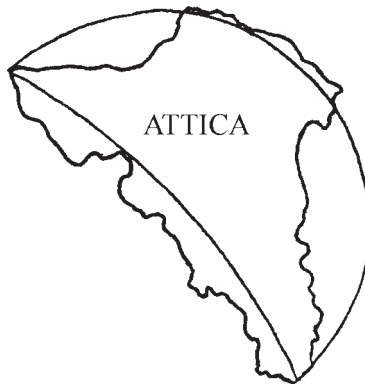


Fig. 10 – Attica as a crescent

⁵⁶ Strategic formations: Hdt. I 75; Thuc. II 76.3; Polyb. III 113.8; III 115.7.

(*NH* III 43), like Strabo, uses the crescent to describe the shape of some Italian bays (*sinus lunata*)⁵⁷.

Culture-dependent similes

Unlike similes using universal shapes, the group defined here as culture-dependent, exploits shapes of objects originating in a certain social and cultural context. These are garments, domestic tools, weapons, naval vessels, architectural features and letters. All of them reflect the world of the author and his expected audience. Without the assumed common cultural background of both parties, the similes would have been meaningless, as they must be for a person unfamiliar with the shapes of the objects evoked in these similes.

Like the common modern perception of Italy as ‘the boot’, shapes of pieces of clothing appear also in the ancient geographical imagery. Thus, the inhabited world, the *oikoumene*, is described by Strabo as an island in the shape of a chlamys (χλαμυδαῖδους), that is a cloak or mantle⁵⁸. This garment, in its spread and open form, was an elongated four-cornered piece of material with a moderately curved hem along the lower edge⁵⁹. The shape of the city plan of Alexandria is also compared to that of a chlamys (XVII 1.8)⁶⁰.

A closer look at the way Strabo uses the chlamys simile, shows his aspiration to be as clear and accurate as possible, in the need to convey visual impressions of shape through written words. Thus, on the basis of eye witnesses, he supports his description with geometry as the following piece shows:

The shape of the inhabited world is somewhat like a chlamys, whose greatest breadth is represented by the line that runs through the Nile, a line that begins at the parallel that runs through the Cinnamon-producing country [south Ethiopia]... and ends at the parallel through Ierne [Ireland]. Its length is represented by that line drawn perpendicular to this which runs from the west through the Pillars [Gibraltar] and the strait of Sicily to Rhodes and the gulf of Issus, passes along the Taurus range, which girdles Asia, and ends at the Eastern sea between India and the country of those Scythians who live beyond Bactriana.

⁵⁷ See also Agathemerus’ likening of the Caspian Sea to a crescent: *GGM* II, fr. 13.

⁵⁸ II 5.6; II 5.9; II 5.14; II 5.18; XI 11.7

⁵⁹ F.B. TARBELL, *The Form of the Chlamys*, *CPh* 1 (1906), p. 283-289. See a drawing in J.B. HARLEY – D. WOODWARD (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 156.

⁶⁰ Cf. Diod. Sic. XVII 52.3; Plut., *Alex.* 26.8; Plin., *NH* V 62.

Accordingly, we must conceive of a parallelogram in which the chlamys-shaped figure is inscribed in such a way that the greatest length of the chlamys coincides with, and is equal to, the greatest length of the parallelogram, and likewise its greatest breadth and the breadth of the parallelogram... that the inhabited world is situated in this parallelogram is clear from the fact that neither its greatest breadth nor its greatest length falls outside of it. And that its shape is like a chlamys is apparent from the fact that the extremities of its length, being washed away by the sea, taper off on both sides and thus diminish its width there. And this is apparent from the reports of those who have sailed around the eastern and western parts in both directions (II 5.14).

Ribbons or bands (ταινίαι) denote several times elongated and narrow pieces of land.

A peninsula in Sarmatia on the northern shores of the Black Sea, called 'Achilleos Dromos' (Achilles' race course), «is a ribbon-like stretch of land, as much as one thousand stadia in length... its maximum breadth is only two stadia, and its minimum only four plethra» (VII 3.19). Other stretches of land in Thessaly are «ribbon-like» as are also Attica, Boeotia and Phocis:

... Ribbon-like stretches of country extend parallel to one another through the whole country. The first of these parts is Attica together with Megaris, a ribbon-like stretch of country... the second of these parts is Boeotia extending ribbon-like from the east towards the west... (IX 2.1, cf. IX 3.1).

Polybius (IV 41.1) also used this simile to verbally draw the banks formed by the matter discharged from the Danube into the Black Sea.

When describing the habitable part of Egypt along the banks of the Nile Strabo again supports his description with a simile. The corrupted text, however, does not permit a definite conclusion regarding the object composing this simile. There are three suggestions; one conforms better to the manuscript tradition and is presented here:

Egypt consists of only the river land... accordingly when it is dried, it resembles lengthwise a girdle-band (κεῖρία), the greater diversions of the river being excepted. This shape of the river land of which I am speaking... is caused by the mountains on either side... for in proportion as these mountains lie near together or at a distance from one another, in that proportion the river is contracted or widened, and gives to the lands that are habitable their different shapes (XVII 1.4).

It is noteworthy that in the specific part of the simile there are several manuscript versions which change the entire image. The two other

suggested options are «unfolded girdle-band» (κειρία ἀναπτυσσομένη) and «stretched arm» (χείρ τεταμένη). In all cases the shape is narrow and elongated, but in view of the number of manuscripts having κειρία ψυχομένη and because it suits the general nature of other similes, I prefer to accept this version.

In his shape similes Strabo occasionally uses objects from the surroundings of every-day life in the Graeco-Roman home or market place. To these belong the table (τραπέζιον) as denoting the elevated level on which Corinth is situated (VIII 6.21); the naturally fortified site of Tralleis (XIV 1.42); a rugged, high hill above cape Pedalium in Cyprus (XIV 6.3); a hill in Syria called Trapezon for its shape (XVI 2.8); and a flat place near lake Moeris on which there were a village and a palace (XVII 1.37).

The shape of the segment of the northern hemisphere which lies between the equator and the Arctic Circle is likened to a σπόνδυλος which in this context of shape best translates as a spinning whorl (II 5.6). Strabo also presents Eratosthenes' terminology for sections of the *oikoumene* called σφραγίδα, seals (II 1.22; II 1.35; XV 1.11), referring to the Northern and Southern Sphragides (XI 12.5)⁶¹. But since the definition of the borders of the Eratosthenian Sphragides is arbitrary and not always clear, Strabo prefers the more ancient division of countries based on natural borders. Thus he describes only three of the Sphragides whose borders more or less correspond with natural boundaries⁶². Hipparchus, who criticized Eratosthenes' methods, preferred to intersect the world into triangular units⁶³.

Describing a large part of Asia, north of the Taurus, from the Caspian Sea to the most eastern point in Tamarum, Strabo not only offers a simile but also shows the correspondence between the various parts of the object and the geographical features of this large region:

Since this segment of the earth tapers towards the eastern parts, its shape would be like a cook's knife (μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι), the mountain [Taurus] being in a straight line and conceived of as corresponding to

⁶¹ Cf. D.R. DICKS (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 22), fr. 19; 21; 23 and commentary *ad loc.* On both *sphragides* and *plinthia* as means of cartographical arrangement, see C. VAN PAASSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 42-44, 47-48.

⁶² See G. AUJAC, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 208-211; J.B. HARLEY – D. WOODWARD (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 157; cf. G. AUJAC – F. LASSERRE, *Strabon, Géographie I*. Paris 1969, p. 192-193.

⁶³ See D.R. DICKS (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 22), fr. 21; 23; 24; 27 and commentary *ad loc.*

the edge (ἄκμῃ) of the knife, and the coast [of the ocean]... as corresponding to the other side of the knife, which ends in a line that curves sharply to the point (XI 11.7).

Note that as with contours defined geometrically, here too the lines are determined through mountains and coasts.

From domestic tools we go on to weapons. Shapes of several kinds of weapons are found in different similes denoting geographical features. A hill in Carthage resembles a round shield (ἀσπίς) (VI 2.11, XVII 3.16) and the island of Meroe in Egypt resembles an oblong shield (θυρεοειδῆ) (XVII 2.2). Pliny says that Italy ends «in the shape of an Amazon's shield (*Amazonica parma*)» (NH III 43), and depicts the Isle of Achilles on the north coast of the Black Sea as a peninsula in the shape of a sword (*gladius*) (NH IV 83). With a more composite simile Strabo describes the shape of the Euxine (Black Sea):

The circumference of the whole sea is approximately twenty five thousand stadia. Some (τινες) compare the shape of this circumference to that of a bent Scythian bow (ἐντεταμένον Σκυθικόν τόξον), likening the bow string (νευρά) to the regions on what is called the right hand side of the Pontus... and the rest they liken to the horn (κέρας) of the bow with its double curve, the upper curve being rounded-off, while the lower curve is straighter (II 5.22).

Strabo sees to it that the simile is clear enough in detail, showing how each part of the bow resembles a corresponding part in the geographical layout of the sea. The Scythian bow itself consisted of a central bar of wood to whose ends the curved horns of an ibex or a goat were attached. The horns were tipped with metal and joined by a bowstring. When drawn, the horns were bent. The bow corresponds to the north coast of the Euxine, the central part to the Criumetopon (now Crimea), and the bowstring to the more or less straight south coast. Strabo's authority for this simile is vague («some»), but we find it already in the fragments of Hecataeus of Miletus⁶⁴. The Scythian Bow as an outline of the Black Sea was popular also among Latin authors: Sallust, Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Ammianus Marcellinus⁶⁵.

As in many other cases, Eratosthenes is Strabo's source for the identification of the shape of Mesopotamia with that of a boat. Mesopotamia is literally the region between the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, and thus their curves create that shape:

⁶⁴ *FGrHist* 1 F 197.

⁶⁵ Sallust, *Hist.* III fr. 44 (P. McGUSHIN, *op. cit.* [n. 36], vol. II [1994], p. 105); Mela I 102; Plin., *NH* IV 76; IV 86; Amm. Marc. XXII 8.9; cf. *GGM* II, p. 411 ll. 184-194.

Eratosthenes makes clear the river's lack of straightness when he indicates the shape of Mesopotamia, which results from the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates, like a galley (ὕπηρεσιῶ παραπλήσιον) as he says (II 1.23 cf. II 1.26).

And again with a slightly different term:

Mesopotamia contracts in shape, projecting to a considerable length; the shape of it somewhat resembles that of a boat (πλοῖον) (XVI 1.22).

Pliny takes a naval simile to verbally describe a topographic elevation. Referring to a sixth-century earthquake in Sparta he says:

The whole of their city collapsed, and also a large part of Mount Taygetus projecting in the shape of a ship's stern (*forma puppis*) broke off and crashing down on it added to the catastrophe (*NH* II 191).

Some features of an architectural nature appear in Strabo's geographical similes. Following Eratosthenes, some subdivisions of the *oikoumene* which are generally rectangular in shape are called πλινθία, that is tiles or small bricks (II 1.35). We find this term in an astronomical context when Strabo refers to the Great Bear as seen from Syene: «... almost the whole of the Great Bear is also visible in the arctic circle with the exception of the legs, the tip of the tail, and one of the stars in the tile (πλινθίον)» (II 5.36)⁶⁶. Note the details (bear, legs, tail) in the astronomical context.

Another architectural element which serves Strabo as an aid to accurate description is the shape of the *tholos* (dome). He describes some craters in Sicily «that spout up water in a dome-like (θολοειδέες) jet and receive it back again into the same recess» (VI 2.9). Although the water jets are not part of topography, this image demonstrates Strabo's method of conveying his impressions to his audience.

The harbour in Massilia «lies at the foot of a theatre-like (θεατροειδέες) rock which faces south» (IV 1.4); Delphi is «a rocky place, theatre-like» (IX 3.3); an island near Cnidus «rises high» and «is theatre-like» (XIV 2.15); «Hiericus is a plain surrounded by a kind of mountainous country, which in a way, slopes towards it like a theatre (θεατροειδῶς)» (XVI 2.41). Diodorus (XIX 45.3) also says that Rhodes is shaped liked a theatre⁶⁷. Thus Strabo and Diodorus enable their readers to imagine the topographic set-up of these sites. They may have found this simile in one

⁶⁶ Cf. D.R. DICKS (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 22), fr. 47. The same word denoted the fields into which Roman augurs divided the skies, see Plut., *Cam.* 32.5; *Rom.* 22.1.

⁶⁷ See also Dionysius of Byzantium on a hill surrounding a gulf in the Bosporan sea and looking like a theatre: R. GÜNGERICH, *op. cit.* (n. 43), §101.

of their earlier sources and then applied it in various, even new, contexts. It is also probable that the image of a theatre was so well-known that the likening of natural slopes to the architectural complex was self-evident. Let us not forget that, unlike the Roman, the Greek theatre was originally a natural topographic slope exploited for performances⁶⁸. Therefore in this case the imagery may be much more straightforward.

Three letters of the Greek alphabet denote cartographic layouts of geographical features. Delta, in fact a triangle, is generally associated with rivers and particularly with the Nile already by Herodotus (II 13): τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα. Strabo gives the exact details of correspondence between the shapes (fig. 11):

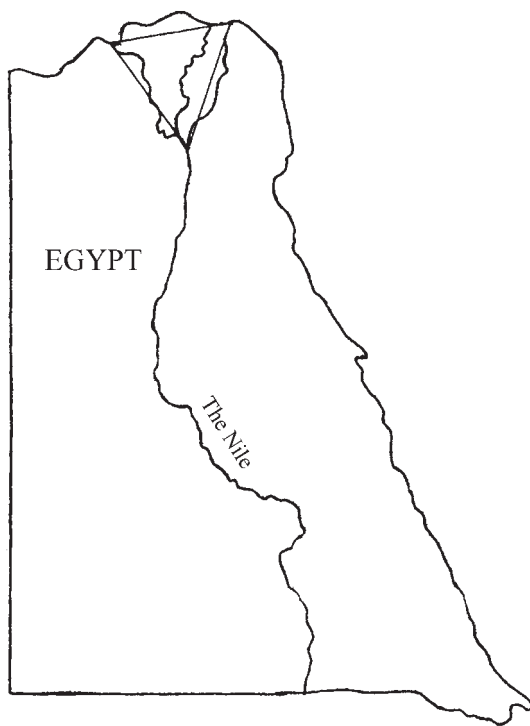


Fig. 11 – The Nile and the letter Delta

⁶⁸ See D.S. ROBERTSON, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge 1971, p. 164, 272-273; A.J. BROTHERS, *Buildings for Entertainment*, in: I.M. BARTON (ed.), *Roman Public Buildings*. Exeter 1989, p. 98-112.

The Nile... being split at the head, as Plato says⁶⁹... makes this place as it were the vertex of a triangle, the sides of the triangle being formed by the streams that split in either direction and extend to the sea... and the base by the coast line... an island therefore has been formed by the sea and the two streams of the river, and it is called Delta on account of the similarity of its shape (XVII 1.4).

Discussing Patalene, a triangular island formed by two branches of the Indus, Strabo says that Onesicritus called it Delta and even compared it in size to the Egyptian one (XV 1.33).

Strabo uses the shape of the letter Epsilon in describing two plains near the Scamander in the Troad:

From the mountain range of Ida in this region, according to Demetrius, two spurs extend to the sea... forming together a semi circular line... the two plains above mentioned are separated from each other by a great neck of land which runs in a straight line between the aforesaid spurs... and along with the spurs on either side forms a complete letter E (τὸ Ε γράμμα) (XIII 1.34).

The shape of the semi-circular line as part of the letter E may originate in the imagery of Demetrius of Scepsis whom Strabo mentions specifically in this context as his source.

Following Eratosthenes, Strabo says that the letter Nu describes the course of the Nile: «according to him the Nile... is similar to the letter N written reversed (τὸ γράμμα τὸ Ν κειμένον ἀνάπαλιν)» (XVII 1.2). This image may reflect the general shape of the Nile in its Ethiopian part as shown in fig. 12.

Finally, there are three cases where Strabo uses a topographic feature of a certain shape in order to describe the shape of another geographical or topographic shape; the detail then becomes a simile. Thus, the curved base of the Alps is described as gulf-like (κολπώδη) (V 1.3); Salamis «is situated on a gulf, on a peninsula-like (χερσονησοειδές) place which borders on Attica» (IX 1.9). Note that this is the Attic form of the word, a fact which might hint at Strabo's source. Herodotus (VII 22) used this geographical simile to denote the shape of the ends of Mount Athos. Finally, Strabo defines an artificial man-made mound made for military purposes as hill-shaped (βουνοειδές) (XI 8.4).

⁶⁹ Plat., *Tim.* 21 e.



Fig. 12 – The Nile and a reversed Nu

PLACE NAMES REFLECTING SHAPES

Connected with our present study are toponyms based on shapes of sites. Since I cannot presume to present here a comprehensive list of ancient place-names reflecting shapes, I limit the presentation of this linguistic and toponymic phenomenon to the samples appearing in Strabo's *Geography*. Strabo mentions several places whose names reflect their shapes or the shape of a topographical feature situated near them. These toponyms were not coined by Strabo or his predecessors but rather by popular usage reflecting natural local characteristics. In this sense they are also metaphors, as if the place were the object. Such are the following (in the order of their appearance in the *Geography*):

- Thrinakis (θρῖναξ, 'trident') and Trinacria (τρεῖς ἄκραι, 'three capes')
— early names of Sicily derived from its triangular shape (VI 2.1).

- Strongyle (στρογγύλη, ‘round’) — one of the Liparean islands (now Stromboli) ‘so called from its shape (ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος)’ (VI 2.11).
- Brentesium (now Brindisi) (from *brentium*, ‘a stag’s head’) — because of the shape of this Italian harbour (VI 3.6, see above).
- Attica (ἀκτὴ, ἀκτική, ‘shore, shore-land’) — «because the greatest part of it lies below the mountains, stretches flat along the sea, is narrow, and has considerable length» (IX 1.3).
- Kerata (κέρατα, ‘horns’) — two horn-shaped mountains between Megara and Attica (IX 1.11).
- Chersonesus (χερσόνησος, ‘peninsula’) — «the European promontory that forms the narrows at the place of the bridge is called the Chersonessus because of its shape» (XIII 1.22)⁷⁰.
- Trapezon (τράπεζα, ‘table’) — a hill in Syria «from its similarity (ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος)» (XVI 2.8).
- Derrhis (δέρρις, ‘hide’) — an Egyptian harbour «so called because of the black rock near by which resembles a hide» (XVII 1.14).
- Aspis (ἄσπις, ‘round shield’) — a hill on the promontory Taphitis in Carthage so called «from its resemblance» and also the city by it «whom they call Clupea», that is the Latin word for round shield, *clupeus* (VI 2.11 cf. XVII 3.16)⁷¹.

DISCUSSION

How to define geographical shapes through words? Comparing unfamiliar forms to familiar figures is a simple and clear method. But what can an author assume his readers know? The primary contact between an author and his audience is based on language. Without the premise that both author and reader share a common language there would be no literature. Thus, an author addresses an unknown group of people about whom he can only know they understand his language. Beyond this basic requirement, an author who wishes to be understood must exploit within the boundaries of language, words and phrases he thinks his readers can grasp. The very communication between readers and authors relies on this condition.

⁷⁰ There are about 20 places called Chersonesus, many of which were known to Strabo, see W. HAZLITT, *The Classical Gazetteer. A Dictionary of Ancient Sites*, London 1851 (repr. 1995), s.v. ‘Chersonesus’, and consult *LCL* index to Strabo’s *Geography*.

⁷¹ Add to this another name not mentioned by Strabo: Ichnusa (ἰχνός, ‘foot-print’), the name of Sardinia reflecting its shape. See above.

In a written work which aims at explaining abstract ideas, physical phenomena or historical processes, lucidity is even more essential. In such treatises the author would have to choose his words carefully so that his audience will follow his arguments and descriptions. Therefore, when using a simile or a metaphor, there is no real point in inclusion of objects or shapes unknown to the readers. Thus a certain author's choice of similes reflects on his cultural background and world of associations as well as on his expectations from his readers, assuming that the similes are part of their common language and set of ideas. Analysing this body of details as extra-cultural observers, we may deduce that the average educated man both in the Hellenistic east and in Rome, knew or was expected to know for instance what an acropolis is and how does a pine-cone look.

Similes and metaphors in Greek and Roman literature had primarily a rhetorical role. They enhanced mainly the decorative qualities of poetry but also the persuasive element of speeches and literary treatises⁷². In geographical contexts similes functioned primarily as an explanatory feature: they facilitated the reader's understanding of the layout of geographical elements. Quintilian mentions two purposes for the use of metaphors: «We do this either because it is necessary to make our meaning clearer or... to produce a decorative effect» (VIII 6.6). In geographical contexts the first goal, that of clarification, is the central reason for using similes. Thus it is similar to their use in other descriptive and, in a sense, scientific works for instance in methodological and classified descriptions of plants and animals.

Several examples may demonstrate this point: Aristotle mentions breast-like (μαστοειδές) formations on the bodies of large snails, and nests of halcyons shaped like gourds (σικύαι); Theophrastus describes the tree of the sorb as like a pinecone (στροβιλοειδές) in shape and the root of the narcissus as resembling purse tassels (βολβοί)⁷³. Strabo himself uses such similes from the realm of zoology in descriptions of strange

⁷² See Arist., *Poet.* 1457b6-32; *Rhet.*, 1405a4-b24; 1406b20-1407a20 discussing μεταφορά and εἰκόν; Cic., *de orat.* III 155-170; Quint. VIII 6.4-18 discussing *metaphora*, *translatio* and *similitudo*. Modern discussions of the literary form and role of metaphors include G.E.R. LLOYD, *Polarity and Analogy. Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought*, Cambridge 1966, p. 304-383; M.H. MCCALL, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison*, Cambridge (MA) 1969; W.B. STANFORD, *Greek Metaphor. Studies in Theory and Practice*, New York-London 1972, esp p. 3-46; P. RICŒUR, *The Rule of Metaphor. Multi-Disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*, Toronto 1977, p. 24-27, 55-64.

⁷³ Arist., *HA* 529a18; 616a22; Thphr., *HP* III 12.9; VII 13.7

and lesser-known species of animals, for instance describing the Egyptian Ibis as «like a stork (πελαργώδης) in shape and size» (XVII 2.4) or remarking that rhinoceri are «like bulls (ταυροειδές)» in their form (XVII 3.5). Pliny also uses shape similes in a non-geographical context to describe the ability of the porcupine to roll round into a shape of a ball (*in formam pilae*) (NH VIII 133) and the spots on a certain sea fish, the *murena*, which are shaped like the seven stars of the constellation of the Ursa Maior (*ad formam septentrionis*) (NH IX 76).

The authors who focused on geography adopt the same approach by using similes not as rhetorical decorations but as an essential aid for the transmission of accurate information. In his attempt to describe geographical shapes as accurately as possible, Strabo particularly follows a tradition of using shapes and objects from various contexts in a new context, thus borrowing a known shape to describe unknown places. He follows this tradition through his use of already existing similes and also through the presentation of — what seems to be for lack of any other evidence — several new linguistic coins of geographical similes.

There are no geographical similes in Homer and in the earliest forms of geographical descriptions — the περίοδοι γῆς — there was no real need in definition of geographical shapes because the entire approach was linear and geographical components were defined through directions of navigation, points on the coastline and duration of navigation. This task-oriented method satisfied the needs of practical seafaring.

In Hecataeus of Miletus we find the earliest instance of a geographical simile: he uses it once only by presenting the shape of a Scythian Bow as a means to describe the Black Sea. Since we do not have the entire work we cannot assess the extent of such use of similes. Herodotus, who was familiar with Hecataeus' work, used several times geometrical figures to define shapes of countries. But his use of the device is not extensive and non-systematic. Eratosthenes and Hipparchus, whose main interest was geography, relied — as far as can be judged — mainly on geometrical shapes, in consistency with their approach to geography which was more mathematical and aspired to accuracy⁷⁴. Thus, associative and figurative impressions would not suit their concepts and their style. In the Latin tradition Sallust, Mela and Pliny adopted the descriptive approach to geography and accepted several traditional similes of

⁷⁴ Cf. Ptolemy who relied solely on mathematical coordinates for definition of geographical shapes.

shape such as the Scythian Bow. In addition they included in their works some similes with no Hellenistic precedent, such as the foot-print (Sallust), the human head (Mela) and the sword (Pliny). These may hint at a lost body of earlier geographical similes or may reflect on later impressions coined in the same method either on the basis of newly acquired knowledge or as a result of fresh literary imagery.

The existence of a graphic two-dimensional presentation of the world in some form of a map could help. Did Strabo look at a map while composing his *Geography* and did he attach a map to accompany his finished work? Two speculative answers to these questions have been proposed: one claiming that the geographer neither used a map nor composed one, the other strongly supporting these possibilities⁷⁵. Both are mere conjectures with no evidence in the text.

However, in view of the present study we might say, with due caution, that Strabo probably saw a certain map which enabled him to grasp the general two-dimensional shape of regions and countries. His references to various shapes of maps and their projections, whether on a flat surface or on a miniature globe, also indicate his probable familiarity with such cartographic endeavours. At the same time it seems less evident that his own *Geography* included a map, for Strabo does all he can to draw with words a visual picture of shapes of countries and topographical features. He probably expected his readers to be able to grasp the shapes without an actual map. To ensure this mental process Strabo not only presents the figure he (or his source) thinks most appropriately describes the shape of the region under discussion but also frequently explains how the various parts of the relevant figure correspond to the physical and topographical surface of the earth.

Strabo often cites his sources for these similes and by so doing he reveals Eratosthenes as his primary authority for these picturesque comparisons, particularly the geometrical ones. Other descriptions of shapes rely on Polybius and Apollodorus and possibly on Posidonius and Demetrius of Scepsis. In other cases we cannot define the origin of the similes on the basis of the literary sources we possess. In such circumstances we may assume either that a particular simile was already known well enough in connection with some regions or that Strabo himself coined original descriptions based on his personal world of associations.

⁷⁵ See G. AUJAC, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 213; O.A.W. DILKE, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 173, 175: perhaps Strabo used more than one map.

Throughout this study I have emphasized Strabo's work because he seems to prefer the use of similes more than other authors. True, Strabo relies on his predecessors and while confronting their ideas he incorporates some of their concepts regarding shapes of countries and regions. However, other similes, mainly non-geometric ones, probably do not derive from the works of Eratosthenes and Hipparchus or from any other specific source. This does not unequivocally show Strabo's originality and independence but it may hint at his stylistic preferences.

Strabo was well aware of the fact that comparisons of shapes cannot and should not be accurate but rather give a general idea of shape. It is therefore approximation which characterizes these similes and which is a part of the geographers' genre in general and Strabo's style and attitude in particular.

To the number of shape-similes one may add also their variety and their distribution throughout the entire geographical survey. Even if Strabo did not invent the similes which were perhaps coined by an anonymous predecessor and become part of a popular concept, the fact is that he chose to use them to explain to his readers the shapes of regions unknown to them. Thus, it is not so much a unique literary descriptive practice as compared with previous authors of geographical surveys which highlights Strabo's use of imagery, but more the frequency and variety of this use which seems to show that Strabo was particularly fond of this method. Because he was less concerned with precision and mathematical geography and more with a descriptive brand of historical geography, he tended towards such aids. Beside the didactic motivation to include similes, there may be also a secondary stylistic consideration of decorating the geographical narrative, for we know that Strabo tended to break the monotony of his description with other literary features such as proverbs, anecdotes and poetic quotations⁷⁶.

Bar-Ilan University

Daniela DUECK

⁷⁶ See D. DUECK, *Bird's Milk in Samos: Strabo's Use of Geographical Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions*, *SCI*, 23 (2004), p. 41-56, and EAD., *Strabo's Use of Poetry* (n. 48).

TRAMANDARE ΤΟ ΣΑΦΕΣ:
NOTE IN MARGINE A THUC. I 9.2

Abstract: Attraverso l'analisi dei passi in cui Tucidide utilizza il termine τὸ σαφές con i suoi derivati e partendo dalla constatazione che I 9.2 è l'unico passo dell'*Archaiologia* in cui lo storico definisce τὰ σαφέστατα una tradizione riferibile ad avvenimenti mitici, si svolgono una serie di considerazioni sul significato dell'espressione οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων ... δεδεγμένοι e sulle fonti tucididee per la storia più antica del Peloponneso. Sulla base del lessico tucidideo e dei molteplici richiami alle opere etnografiche di Ellanico, riscontrabili soprattutto nell'*Archaiologia*, si suggerisce che le notizie di I 9.2 potrebbero derivare in primo luogo da una fonte orale (*logioi*), mediata da una fonte storica da riconoscere in Ellanico stesso. Il confronto tra questo passo e il F 2 di Antioco di Siracusa (*FGrHist* 555) — dal quale risulta che lo storico siracusano utilizzava la categoria del τὸ σαφές, combinata con quella del τὸ πιστόν, nella selezione delle tradizioni provenienti dagli antichi *logioi* —, induce a formulare l'ipotesi che I 9.2 possa fornire indizi anche sul metodo storico di Ellanico e sul rapporto storiografico fra quest'ultimo, Antioco e Tucidide.

Il capitolo 9 dell'*Archaiologia* tucididea, dedicato alla storia più antica del Peloponneso, ha suscitato l'interesse dei critici soprattutto sul versante del rapporto tra Tucidide e le sue fonti, e in particolare dell'utilizzazione di tradizioni locali da parte dello storico ateniese¹.

Da questo punto di vista, l'aspetto di maggior interesse è dato proprio dall'espressione con la quale si apre l'*excursus* sulla storia mitica del Peloponneso: λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων μνήμη παρὰ τῶν πρότερον δεδεγμένοι (I 9.2). Come è ampiamente noto, sulla resa di questo passo la critica si è divisa tra chi preferisce riferire il genitivo Πελοποννησίων a οἱ... δεδεγμένοι, traducendo «quei Peloponnesiaci che hanno raccolto le tradizioni più sicure dalle precedenti generazioni»², e chi lo riferisce a τὰ σαφέστατα, intendendo

¹ Per una trattazione accurata ed esaustiva dei problemi posti dal passo vd. C. BEARZOT, *Temi di storia e storiografia locale in Tucidide*, in *Storiografia locale e storiografia universale. Forme di acquisizione del sapere storico nella cultura antica* (Bologna 16-18 dicembre 1999), Como 2001, p. 219-221 [211-261]; L. PORCIANI, *Prime forme della storiografia greca. Prospettiva locale e generale nella narrazione storica*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 117-124, entrambi con bibliografia precedente.

² Un cospicuo elenco degli esegeti di Tucidide che hanno fatto questa opzione si trova ora in M. CHAMBERS, *Two Passages in Thucydides*, in G.W. BAKEWELL – J.P. SICKINGER

«coloro che hanno ereditato oralmente dalle generazioni precedenti le più sicure tradizioni peloponnesiache»³.

Nel primo caso Tucidide vorrebbe indicare fonti locali peloponnesiache, nel secondo il riferimento potrebbe essere in teoria a qualunque logografo — per usare un termine tucidideo — che si sia occupato di storia peloponnesiaca, ma di fatto si ha un'alta probabilità che si tratti di Ellanico, senza peraltro escludere l'apporto di altri, visto che la saga degli Atridi era molto popolare sia nella letteratura che nell'arte⁴.

Benché l'incertezza sull'interpretazione dell'espressione non sia stata di grande impedimento alla valutazione generale del capitolo tucidideo, alcune puntualizzazioni e alcuni interessanti confronti con passaggi di altri autori possono forse essere d'aiuto per fugare i dubbi, nonché per aprire la strada ad alcune riflessioni sul metodo di lavoro di Tucidide in rapporto alla storiografia contemporanea.

Che Πελοποννησίων sia un genitivo partitivo non ci sono dubbi, come si premurava di precisare Gomme⁵. Ma, dal punto di vista grammaticale, ciò non significa che esso debba essere necessariamente riferito a οἱ... δεδεγμένοι. Come tale, infatti, Πελοποννησίων può essere considerato anche il partitivo del superlativo τὰ σαφέστατα: «le più sicure tradizioni tra quelle peloponnesiache».

Forniscono alcuni paralleli molto significativi un luogo di Cassio Dione e uno di Dionigi di Alicarnasso, passi che rivelano un'inconfondibile influenza tucididea, quasi che l'espressione οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα + genitivo + participio fosse divenuta paradigmatica e ritenuta indicativa dell'utilizzazione di fonti ben informate sulla storia locale.

(edd.), *Gestures. Essays in Ancient History, Literature and Philosophy presented to A.L. Boegehold on the Occasion of his Retirement and his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Oxford 2003, p. 189 [188-194], cui si aggiungano: W.H. FORBES, *Thucydides Book I*, Oxford 1895, p. 72; *Le Storie di Tucidide I*, a cura di G. DONINI, Torino 1982, p. 105, da cui proviene la traduzione.

³ Anche per questa opzione all'elenco di M. CHAMBERS, *loc. cit.*, si aggiungano: *Thucydides Historiarum liber primus*, a cura di A. MADDALENA, Firenze 1951, p. 34; *Thucydide. La guerre du Péloponnèse I*, texte établi et traduit par J. DE ROMILLY, Paris 1958², p. 6; *Tucidide. La guerra del Peloponneso*, a cura di M. MOGGI, Milano 1984, p. 79; *Tucidide. La guerra del Peloponneso*, a cura di L. CANFORA, Torino 1996, p. 13, da cui ho tratto la traduzione. Ambiguo il giudizio di A.W. GOMME, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides I*, Oxford 1950, p. 109, che sembra lasciare aperta la scelta fra le due interpretazioni.

⁴ S. HORNBLOWER, *A Commentary on Thucydides I*, Oxford 1991, p. 32. All'incirca dello stesso avviso è A.W. GOMME, *loc. cit.*, che, fra le difficoltà di attribuzione delle notizie al solo Ellanico, aggiunge l'incertezza di datazione delle sue opere, facendo però unicamente riferimento all'*Atthis*, che è in ogni caso altamente improbabile contenesse il racconto della più antica storia del Peloponneso. Pensava senza dubbio ad Ellanico F. JACOBY, art. *Hecataios*, *RE VII* (1912), col. 2677; *id.*, *FGrHist, Komm.* Ia, p. 469.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*

In un frammento del primo libro delle *Historiae Romanae* di Cassio Dione⁶ si dice: φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Σαβίνων εἰδότες ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἡ Ῥώμη ἐκτίσθη γεγεννησθαι, «ceux qui connaissent à fond l'histoire des Sabins affirment qu'il (*scil.* Numa) naquit le jour même de la fondation de Rome»⁷. Boissevain, nella sua edizione del 1955, rimandando proprio a Thuc. I 9. 2, non accetta l'emendamento del Dindorf σαφέστατα τὰ Σαβίνων, perdonando al celebre critico di non aver tenuto conto del passo tucidideo, ma non essendo altrettanto clemente con chi l'aveva seguito⁸.

Ai nostri fini risulta ancora più esplicito Dionigi di Alicarnasso⁹ il quale, trattando della fama di Giunio Bruto, afferma che egli non lasciò alcun discendente né maschio né femmina, ὥς οἱ τὰ Ῥωμαίων σαφέστατα ἐξητακότες γράφουσι, «come affermano gli scrittori che più accuratamente hanno studiato la storia romana»¹⁰. In questo passaggio, infatti, Dionigi, grande conoscitore nonché estimatore di Tucidide, probabilmente consapevole dell'ambiguità dell'espressione tucididea, si premura di spostare il genitivo partitivo tra l'articolo e l'aggettivo, quasi a voler fugare in questo modo un eventuale dubbio sulla dipendenza del genitivo stesso e cercando forse di migliorare il dettato tucidideo.

Del resto, la presenza del modello tucidideo è resa ancor più esplicita dalla chiusa di questa digressione su Giunio Bruto e sui suoi eventuali discendenti, quando Dionigi ricorre alla terminologia tipica del metodo storiografico tucidideo e conclude: ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οἷς μέλει τε καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι παρίημι σκοπεῖν, «ma lascio la considerazione di tali questioni a coloro ai quali importa e sta a cuore scoprire i fatti precisi»¹¹.

Pertanto l'aspetto di maggior interesse dell'attacco di I 9. 2 è dato proprio dal ricorso all'espressione τὰ σαφέστατα che, a nostro parere,

⁶ Fr. 6.5 Bk.

⁷ *Histoire romaine de Dion Cassius*, trad. franç. par E. GROS, Paris 1889, p. 35.

⁸ «... σαφέστατα τὰ Σαβίνων Dind., quem inconsulto secutus est Melber» è il commento contenuto in U.Ph. BOISSEVAIN (ed.), *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt*, Berolini 1955, p. 13.

⁹ *Ant. Rom.* V 18.1.

¹⁰ La traduzione di questo passo e di quello alla nota seguente provengono da *Dionisio di Alicarnasso. Storia di Roma arcaica*, a cura di F. CANTARELLI, Milano 1984, p. 419.

¹¹ V 18.2. Anche Cassio Dione, del resto, tradisce un certo influsso tucidideo, quando nell'*incipit* della sua opera (Fr. 1.2 Bk) afferma: ἄρξομαι δὲ ὁθενπερ τὰ σαφέστατα τῶν περὶ τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν κατοικοῦμεν, συμβῆναι λεγομένων παρελάβομεν, «je commencerai mon récit à l'époque où la lumière brille dans les traditions qui nous sont parvenues sur la terre que nous habitons» (E. GROS [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 5).

costituisce la parola chiave per un'identificazione più circostanziata della fonte, primaria ed eventualmente secondaria, sulle notizie peloponnesiache.

Infatti, come si evince dalle dichiarazioni programmatiche di cui sono disseminati i primi ventidue capitoli del primo libro, l'utilizzazione del termine τὸ σαφές, con i suoi derivati, in relazione a un racconto o resoconto diventa indice dell'alto grado di verità attribuito ad esso dallo storico.

Sembra assai significativo, quindi, che nel riportare fatti relativi alla storia mitica del Peloponneso — e solo a proposito di questi in tutta la sezione dedicata all'*archaiologia* greca —, Tucidide abbia ritenuto opportuno definire tali notizie τὰ σαφέστατα, tanto più se si considerano le sue opinioni sulla possibilità di scrivere una storia non contemporanea che sia veritiera e non solo credibile.

Si pensi, infatti, alla cautela con cui Tucidide procede alla ricostruzione della storia più antica dell'Ellade, avvertendo il lettore che «gli avvenimenti precedenti alla guerra e quelli ancora più antichi erano impossibili a investigarsi chiaramente (σαφῶς εὔρεῖν) per via del gran tempo trascorso» e che, pertanto, egli si è fondato sugli indizi che a un attento vaglio gli è capitato di riconoscere come attendibili¹², poiché le celebrazioni dei poeti e le narrazioni dei logografi contengono «avvenimenti inverificati¹³ e per la maggior parte, per effetto del tempo trascorso, passati a far parte del mito in modo da non meritare credibilità (ἀπίστως)»¹⁴. Egli, invece, come per la storia passata così per quella presente, offre una narrazione dei fatti che scaturisce da τεκμήρια¹⁵ e si fonda sugli «indizi più

¹² I 1.3.

¹³ Per questo significato dell'aggettivo ἀνεξέλεγκτα e più in generale dell'intero passaggio vd. ora G. PARMEGGIANI, *L'EYPEIN senza ΣΑΦΕΣ: Tucidide e la conoscenza del passato*, *AncSoc* 33 (2003), p. 249-268 [235-283], secondo il quale «il sintagma intero ὄντα ἀνεξέλεγκτα si riferirà al modo difettoso dei logografi, e probabilmente anche dei poeti, di trasmettere i fatti antichi: si riferirà a uno stato dunque, a una qualità che non è del fatto antico in sé, ma che il fatto antico ha patito per come è stato presentato dai non-storiografi, vale a dire, *senza prove, senza critica*» (p. 263-264). Su questo punto mi sembra importante anche quanto puntualizza l'Autore il quale, andando al di là della tradizionale identificazione dei logografi negli scrittori di prosa e fondamentalmente negli storici, sottolinea, oltre alla varietà degli scrittori che il termine sottintende, anche la dimensione retorica del verbo ξυντιθέναι (usato per definire l'operato dei logografi), a suggerire che tra i logografi si debbano annoverare non solo gli storici, ma anche i retori, politici ed epidittici (p. 265 n. 71).

¹⁴ I 21.1.

¹⁵ I 1.3. Sul valore di τεκμήριον «not so much evidence as inferences from evidence, as always in the law-courts» vd. A.W. GOMME, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 92 e 135. Cf. I 20.1, dove Tucidide «is not discovering new evidence, but interpreting the accepted tradition» (*ibid.*).

sicuri» (ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων σημείων)¹⁶, non inficiata dalla δόξα propria, né da quella di eventuali testimoni, ben consapevole del fatto che «quelli che avevano partecipato agli avvenimenti non dicevano tutti le stesse cose sugli stessi fatti, ma parlavano a seconda della loro simpatia per una delle due parti o del loro ricordo»¹⁷: solo così sarebbe stato possibile «conoscere con chiarezza la realtà» (τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν)¹⁸ degli avvenimenti passati e futuri e quindi pervenire alla verità (ἀλήθεια).

Se, dunque, l'espressione οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων ... δεδεγμένοι può riferirsi ad un insieme di notizie già narrate dai logografi, sulla base di che cosa Tucidide si sente autorizzato a definirle σαφέστατα? Perché utilizza un termine che, nel processo di acquisizione della conoscenza 'vera' e quindi nel proprio metodo storiografico, ha per lui un significato fondamentale e un valore strettamente tecnico?

La risposta a questi interrogativi può provenire da un'analisi dei luoghi in cui lo storico ateniese ricorre a σαφής e suoi derivati in tale valore 'tecnico', utilizzandoli in contesti nei quali lo storico, o uno dei suoi personaggi, discute la necessità di pervenire alla conoscenza della realtà vera dei fatti. Ciò consentirà, altresì, di identificare più chiaramente le fonti di I 9.2.

Cominciamo con due passi, uno tratto dal III libro e l'altro dal VII.

Narra Tucidide che quando le quaranta navi peloponnesiache, salpate per andare in soccorso ai Mitilenesi, giunsero sul teatro delle operazioni, «volendo avere informazioni sicure» (βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφὲς εἰδέναι) — cioè volendo sapere come stavano veramente le cose — si recarono ad Embato di Eritre e, ottenute là informazioni sicure (πυθόμενοι δὲ τὸ σαφές), si consigliarono sul da farsi¹⁹.

E ancora: Gilippo e Pitene, i comandanti del contingente corinzio-spartano inviato in aiuto dei Siracusani, giungono in Italia meridionale e, salpati da Taranto, pervengono a Locri Epizefiri, dove vengono a sapere, questa volta in maniera più chiara (πυνθανόμενοι σαφέστερον), che, a differenza delle notizie circolanti in madrepatria²⁰, Siracusa non è stata ancora bloccata del tutto, ma che, giungendovi con un esercito, è ancora possibile entrarvi all'altezza delle Epipole²¹.

¹⁶ I 21.1.

¹⁷ I 22.2 e 3, cf. VII 8.2, e *infra* p. 64.

¹⁸ I 22.4. La traduzione è di M. MOGGI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 101.

¹⁹ III 29.2.

²⁰ Cf. VI 104.1.

²¹ VII 1.1.

Come si vede, già questi due passi sono di grande interesse, in quanto attestano che un'informazione è ritenuta σαφής solo quando può essere verificata grazie all'apporto di testimoni molto vicini ai fatti, e perciò attendibili. Anzi, più tali testimoni sono fisicamente prossimi alle situazioni di cui si sta parlando, più aumenta il 'grado' di chiarezza della notizia (da σαφές a σαφέστερον), come dimostra un altro fondamentale passaggio del VII libro.

Si tratta del noto episodio dell'invio di una lettera agli Ateniesi da parte di Nicia per renderli edotti della situazione in Sicilia e per avanzare alcune richieste²².

[Riporta Tucidide:] Ma temendo che gli inviati, o per mancanza di capacità oratoria o per dimenticanza o per desiderio di dire cose gradite alla folla, non avrebbero riferito le cose come stavano, scrisse una lettera, convinto che soprattutto in questo modo gli Ateniesi avrebbero conosciuto il suo pensiero non oscurato dalle parole del messo e avrebbero preso una decisione sulla vera situazione (ἀλήθεια)²³.

[E scrive Nicia:] Avrei potuto comunicarvi notizie più piacevoli di queste, ma certo non più utili, se è vero che voi dovete decidere dopo aver conosciuto con chiarezza (σαφῶς εἰδότες) la situazione di quaggiù. Conoscendo anche il vostro carattere, che vuole udire le cose più piacevoli, ma che poi si volge alle accuse se i risultati non sono simili ad esse, ho pensato più sicuro dirvi la verità (τὸ ἀληθές)²⁴.

Non è sfuggito ai critici nelle parole di Tucidide il riecheggiamento di quanto egli stesso aveva dichiarato in I 22.3 a proposito della parzialità dei testimoni, che possono rendere difficile il 'conoscere chiaramente' i fatti²⁵. In questo caso non può accadere, perché Nicia è testimone diretto degli avvenimenti, l'unico in grado di dire senza ombra di dubbio la verità e quindi l'unico che può informare con chiarezza (σαφῶς) gli Ateniesi, rinunciando per questo ad avere intermediari²⁶.

²² VII 8 e 11-15 per il contenuto del messaggio scritto.

²³ VII 8.2.

²⁴ VII 14.4.

²⁵ M. MOGGI, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 815 n. 1. Anzi, è presumibile che proprio sulla base di Thuc. I 22.3 si restituiscia in VII 8.2 la *lectio* μνήμης di B, laddove tutti gli altri codici conservano γνώμης.

²⁶ Non a caso nella lettera di Artaserse agli Spartani, intercettata dallo stratego ateniese Aristide ad Eione sullo Strimone, il re persiano lamenta l'incapacità di comprendere che cosa volessero gli Spartani, perché dei molti ambasciatori che erano giunti nessuno diceva le stesse cose: «se dunque intendevano parlare chiaramente (σαφές λέγειν) — conclude Artaserse —, ne mandassero altri insieme al Persiano (*scil.* Artafarne)» (IV 50.2). Al di là delle implicazioni politiche che la mancanza di chiarezza degli ambasciatori spartani lascia supporre (A.W. GOMME, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* III, Oxford

Infine, estremamente esemplificative del rapporto instaurato da Tucidide tra i termini ἄπιστος/πιστός, σαφές/σαφέστερον e ἀλήθεια nel processo di acquisizione della conoscenza vera sono le parole con cui si apre il discorso di Ermocrate a Siracusa:

Forse vi sembrerà che io, come alcuni altri, vi dica cose incredibili (ἄπιστα) sulla realtà (ἀλήθεια) della spedizione navale e so che coloro i quali affermano o riferiscono cose che non appaiono credibili (μὴ πιστὰ δοκοῦντα) non solo non persuadono, ma addirittura fanno la figura degli sciocchi. Tuttavia non c'è paura che possa trattenermi, nel momento in cui la città è in pericolo, in quanto sono convinto di poter parlare sulla base di informazioni più certe rispetto ad altri (σαφέστερον εἰδώς)²⁷.

L'eco delle dichiarazioni metodologiche tucididee risuona in queste righe, il cui significato viene ulteriormente illuminato proprio dal confronto con gli esempi sopra riportati e in particolare da quello relativo a Nicia. Infatti, l'*incipit* del discorso ermocrateo non ha una semplice valenza retorica²⁸, ma intende sottolineare che egli non sta semplicemente esprimendo un'opinione personale, alla quale si può dare più o meno credito, bensì un'opinione supportata dalla presenza di 'informazioni certe', cioè notizie fornite da informatori, tali da consentirgli di descrivere la verità (ἀλήθεια) sulla spedizione ateniese.

Dall'analisi di questi passi pertanto si evince che per Tucidide 'tecnicamente' una notizia o la narrazione di un evento è σαφής solo nel momento in cui essa viene riportata o viene reperita sul posto da una persona ben informata, come può essere un testimone oculare o comunque molto vicino ai fatti²⁹.

Ciò è vero anche all'opposto: la presenza di una persona direttamente coinvolta nei fatti o ritenuta ben informata può rendere una notizia σαφής e convincere l'uditorio di essere in presenza della verità, benché le circostanze appaiano in realtà molto dubbie.

1956, p. 499; M. MOGGI, *op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 523 n. 5), mi preme in particolar modo sottolineare il valore 'tecnico' di σαφές.

²⁷ VI 33.1.

²⁸ Quanto a terminologia e metodo l'attacco del discorso di Ermocrate richiama molto da vicino un passaggio antifonteo (*Choreutes* 29-30): cf. I.M. PLANT, *The Influence of Forensic Oratory on Thucydides' Principles of Method*, CQ 49 (1999), p. 66 [62-73].

²⁹ Sul ruolo dell'autopsia come passaggio fondamentale per il raggiungimento della verità dei fatti (τὸ σαφές σκοπεῖν) rimando alle pregnanti pagine di G. SCHEPENS, *L'autopsie dans la méthode des historiens grecs du V^e siècle avant J.C.*, Brussel 1980, p. 94-195, in particolare p. 110 ss.

È il caso, ad esempio, di quanto avvenne ad Atene dopo la mutilazione delle Erme. Quando infatti uno degli arrestati, «che sembrava essere il maggior responsabile, si lasciò persuadere da uno di quelli imprigionati insieme a lui a fare delle denunce, vere o false che fossero», — visto che si potevano fare solo supposizioni sia in un senso che nell'altro, ma nessuno, né allora né in seguito, fu in grado di fornire notizie certe (τὸ σαφὲς εἰπεῖν) circa gli autori del gesto —³⁰, il popolo ateniese, quando credette di possedere informazioni sicure (τὸ σαφὲς ἔχειν) si convinse sempre più della colpevolezza di Alcibiade sia per quanto riguardava l'affare delle Erme, che per quanto concerneva la profanazione dei misteri³¹.

Così gli Spartani ritennero assai opportuno dare credito alle indicazioni di Alcibiade per risollevare le sorti della Sicilia e dell'intera guerra, «pensando che a parlargliene era stato chi meglio di ogni altro era informato sullo stato delle cose (παρὰ τοῦ σαφέστατα εἰδότος)»³², visto che ne era stato testimone diretto.

Per tornare al passo da cui siamo partiti, il confronto con il lessico della conoscenza, offerto dagli esempi fin qui elencati, fa ritenere che Tucidide abbia definito τὰ σαφέστατα le notizie di I 9.2, poiché riteneva fossero fornite da fonti molto attendibili che per lui, come si è visto, sono testimoni oculari o prossimi ai fatti. Tuttavia, nel caso di I 9.2 tali informatori non possono possedere queste caratteristiche, in quanto si sta parlando della storia mitica del Peloponneso, cioè di avvenimenti molto lontani dal presente.

Perciò, sulla base delle considerazioni fin qui svolte e della constatazione che I 9.2 è l'unico passo nell'*Archaiologia* in cui Tucidide definisce τὰ σαφέστατα una tradizione su avvenimenti mitici, sembra uscire rafforzata l'ipotesi che qui lo storico ateniese faccia riferimento a canali di tradizione orali ben consolidati, ai quali era accordato un ampio credito, risalenti ai cosiddetti *logioi andres*³³ — secondo la ben nota definizione di Jacoby³⁴ —, cioè a depositari di tradizioni orali, che avevano la funzione di tesaurizzare la memoria orale della storia più antica di un luogo o di un popolo e di tramandarla fedelmente di generazione in generazione.

³⁰ VI 60.2.

³¹ VI 61.1.

³² VI 93.1.

³³ L. PORCIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 117-120.

³⁴ *Atthis. The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens*, Oxford 1949, p. 216; H. VERDIN, *Notes sur l'attitude des historiens grecs à l'égard de la tradition locale*, *AncSoc* 1 (1970), p. 186 ss. [183-200].

La critica ha di recente riaffrontato il problema dei *logioi andres*, mettendo in evidenza i limiti dell'interpretazione jacobiana, nonché la relatività del concetto di *logios* all'interno dei vari autori — *in primis* Erodoto — e dei differenti contesti³⁵. Per quanto riguarda Tucidide, il problema è complesso in quanto egli non cita mai i *logioi* come fonte, ma l'accostamento, consentito dall'utilizzazione del termine *σαφέστατα*, tra i depositari di queste *μνήμαι* peloponnesiache e i testimoni oculari o prossimi ai fatti nella sua opera, suggerisce che qui Tucidide si stia riferendo a tradizioni veicolate da individui, il cui compito di preservare la memoria ha un carattere specialistico o tecnico³⁶ e, direi anche, un tono di ufficialità³⁷. Ciò è suggerito dallo stesso Tucidide, quando definisce queste tradizioni *μνήμαι*, laddove tutta la fase più antica della storia greca è fatta di *ἄκοαί*³⁸.

³⁵ Cf. N. LURAGHI, *Tradizioni orali, usi del passato e scrittura della storia in Grecia tra il tardo arcaismo e il V secolo*, *Storiografia* 2 (1998), p. 279-284, e relativa discussione a p. 302 ss.; ID., *Local Knowledge in Herodotus' Histories*, in N. LURAGHI (ed.), *The Historian's Craft in the Age of Herodotus*, Oxford 2001, p. 138-160.

³⁶ Così già L. PORCIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 118-119.

³⁷ La definizione di questi depositari della memoria è molto difficile e sfuggente. Da una parte, infatti, abbiamo gli *mnemones* e gli *hieromnemones*, legati allo svolgimento di attività finanziarie e amministrative, opportunamente definiti «specialisti della memoria»; dall'altro ci sono i *logioi*, i dotti, gli eruditi, che in alcuni casi possono rivestire cariche specifiche ed essere, per esempio, sacerdoti, come originariamente erano gli *hieromnemones*. È il caso dei *logioi* egiziani di Erodoto (II 3.1; 77.1) o dei *logioi* dei Tirreni (ovvero gli aruspici) di Plut., *Sull.* 7.7. Ma per comprendere i *logioi* di Tucidide si devono tenere presenti le attestazioni più antiche del termine *logios-logioi*, nonché le spiegazioni degli scolasti e dei lessicografi. Da essi si evince che accanto ai poeti (Pind., *Pyth.* I 92-94, vd. anche *Nem.* VI 45-46) e prima degli storiografi (*Schol. in Pind. Ol.* VII 100a; 101; cf. 42b; *Schol. in Nem.* VI 50) erano i *logioi* e gli anziani a ricordare e a raccontare la storia delle loro *poleis*, in quanto esperti di *ἱστορία* (cf. Hesych. s. v. *λόγιος*), ed in particolare di miti, storie e tradizioni locali narrate in prosa (Pindaro, *Le Pitiche*, a cura di B. GENTILI – P. ANGELI BERNARDINI – E. CINGANO – P. GIANNINI, Milano 2000³, p. 361-362). Queste fonti sono state opportunamente valorizzate e commentate da: F. CASSOLA, *Problemi della tradizione orale*, *Index* 28 (2000), p. 16-18 [1-34]; L. PORCIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 121 ss.; D. AMBAGLIO, *Ἐπιχώριος: un termine storiografico?*, in *Storiografia locale e storiografia universale* (cit. n. 1), p. 15 [7-21]. Una presentazione critica di queste problematiche si trova in R. THOMAS, *Performance and Written Publication in Herodotus and the Sophistic Generation*, in W. KULLMANN – J. ALTHOFF (Hrsg.), *Vermittlung und Tradierung von Wissen in der griechischen Kultur*, Tübingen 1993, p. 225-228 [225-244]. Da ultimo N. LURAGHI ha proposto di applicare ai *logioi* erodotei la nozione di superficie sociale della tradizione, che coincide con il gruppo sociale che si riconosce in un determinato passato ed è proprietario di quella memoria (*art. cit.* [n. 35], p. 284).

³⁸ Cf. Thuc. I 73.2. Sulla distinzione tra *ἄκοαί* e *μνήμαι* F. JACOBY osservava: «Thucydides seems to prefer the term *ἄκοαί*, because it conveys the unreliability of this kind of tradition; he uses *μνήμη* where he does not wish to stress the critical point of view (I.9.2)» (*Atthis* [n. 34], p. 389 n. 1). Cf. anche R. NICOLAI, *Thucydides' Archaeology:*

Dal punto di vista tucidideo, i *logioi andres*, in virtù delle loro caratteristiche, svolgevano nei confronti della storia più antica lo stesso ruolo da lui attribuito ai testimoni oculari o agli informatori locali in rapporto alla storia contemporanea³⁹. In relazione a fatti così antichi come quelli narrati nell'*Archaialogia*, questo tipo di fonti era il meglio, qualitativamente parlando, che uno storico come Tucidide potesse trovare e perciò, a differenza di quanto a prima vista si potrebbe pensare, egli le valorizza, riconoscendo ad esse un alto grado di attendibilità⁴⁰.

Se queste considerazioni possono essere valide dal punto di vista della 'natura' dell'informazione, altre riflessioni s'impongono sul modo in cui Tucidide è venuto in possesso di tali notizie.

Benché non manchi chi ha ritenuto che Tucidide abbia reperito personalmente nel Peloponneso queste tradizioni⁴¹ e sebbene ciò non possa essere del tutto escluso sulla base delle dichiarazioni programmatiche dello stesso Tucidide⁴², considerazioni quali la notorietà delle gesta cui si fa riferimento in I 9.2 e l'esistenza di un'ampia produzione poetica e logografica sull'argomento inducono a ritenere che lo storico ateniese abbia interagito con fonti scritte, che si erano a loro volta date premura di registrare quelle tradizioni orali⁴³.

L'estrema frammentarietà della poesia epica e della storiografia precedente e contemporanea a Tucidide rende assai arduo stabilire quali siano

Between Epic and Oral Tradition, in N. LURAGHI (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 267 ss. [261-285]. Sul significato storiografico del termine ἀκοή vd. ora M. BETTALLI, s.v. ἀκοή, in *Lexicon Historiographicum Graecum et Latinum*, diretto da C. AMPOLO e U. FANTASIA, Pisa 2004, p. 32-36.

³⁹ Scrive F. JACOBY (*loc. cit.*) che in Tucidide «the ὅπτις of the persons concerned replaces the μνήμαι and ἀκοαί».

⁴⁰ Ciò è ancor più vero se si considera la scarsa fiducia che Tucidide ripone nella capacità degli epicori di tramandare notizie attendibili sul loro passato (I 20.1).

⁴¹ R.S. STROUD, *Thucydides and Corinth*, *Chiron* 24 (1994), p. 275-276 [267-304], anche se vi è da dire che l'autore figura tra coloro i quali interpretano l'*incipit* di I 9.2 in riferimento a fonti esclusivamente peloponnesiache.

⁴² Cf. I 22.1.

⁴³ Anche L. PORCIANI, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 119 ammette l'alternativa. Da questo punto di vista e in relazione alle considerazioni svolte sul tipo di fonte sotteso all'espressione οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα + genitivo + participio, può essere interessante osservare l'evoluzione del paradigma tucidideo da parte delle fonti che abbiamo usato per illuminarne il significato: Dionigi di Alicarnasso e Cassio Dione. In entrambi gli autori infatti l'espressione identifica fonti scritte: per Dionigi lo si ricava dall'utilizzazione del verbo γράφω, mentre per Cassio Dione dal proemio dell'opera: ... πάντα ὥς εἰπεῖν τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν τισὶ γεγραμμένα, συνέγραψα δὲ οὐ πάντα ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐξέκρινα (Fr. 1.2 Bk), «... à peu près tout ce que divers historiens ont écrit sur les Romains; mais je n'ai pas tout inséré dans mon ouvrage: j'ai dû choisir et me borner» (E. GROS [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 7], p. 3).

le sue fonti per l'*Archaiologia*, tanto da conferire un carattere ipotetico a qualsiasi proposta ricostruttiva.

Quanto al capitolo in questione, qualche indicazione può innanzitutto provenire dalla posizione del paragrafo 2, che risulta incastonato tra due blocchi d'informazione molto ben riconoscibili: lo Pseudo-Esiodo da un lato e Omero dall'altro.

Infatti, il ricorso alle μνῆμαι peloponnesiache serve a Tuciddide per confutare la motivazione secondo cui Agamennone avrebbe radunato una così grande spedizione in virtù dei giuramenti fatti a Tindaro dai pretendenti di Elena: una spiegazione che non compare in Omero, ma che sicuramente risale per lo meno allo Pseudo-Esiodo⁴⁴. Nei paragrafi 3 e 4, invece, Tuciddide cerca conferma della sua interpretazione dei fatti, guardando questa volta a Omero, che egli non solo considera una fonte autorevole, ma di cui sembra voler ristabilire l'autorità⁴⁵.

La centralità e l'eccezionalità di 9.2 nell'*Archaiologia* del primo libro si comprendono bene alla luce del significato politico della tradizione mitica sul giuramento fatto a Tindaro dai pretendenti di Elena, se è vero che essa adombra le pretese da parte di Sparta del primato su tutto il Peloponneso, per lo meno dai tempi della vittoria su Tegea. Il motivo del giuramento fa parte, accanto ai tentativi spartani di recuperare un'identità pre-dorica e achea, di un più ampio programma volto ad affermare la centralità di Sparta nella formazione della coalizione antitroiana⁴⁶.

Perciò, il denso paragrafo 2 attraverso la ricostruzione della più antica storia del Peloponneso doveva servire allo storico ateniese per minare alla base quelle ricostruzioni propagandistiche e per restituire a Micene e ad Agamennone il proprio ruolo nella spedizione contro Troia, secondo quanto narrato dal poeta dell'*Iliade*⁴⁷.

È verosimile, quindi, che, per fare ciò, Tuciddide nel paragrafo 2 si sia avvalso di una fonte storica. Ma chi? Il nome di Ellanico, che, come si ricordava all'inizio, è il più ricorrente, sembra continuare ad essere il più

⁴⁴ F 204.78-85 M-W. Per la ricostruzione di queste tradizioni vd. A.M. BIRASCHI, *Tradizioni epiche e storiografia. Studi su Erodoto e Tuciddide*, Napoli 1989, p. 91 ss.

⁴⁵ Sull'autorità di Omero nell'*Archaiologia* tudicidea vd. A.M. BIRASCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 100 ss.; R. NICOLAI, *art. cit.* (n. 38), p. 271.

⁴⁶ Per tutto questo vd. A.M. BIRASCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 89-108.

⁴⁷ Degli intenti polemici di Tuciddide potrebbe essere indice anche il rifiuto, al paragrafo 3, del motivo della χάρις per spiegare la grandezza della coalizione radunata da Agamennone, come se lo storico ateniese stesse reagendo «con consapevolezza ad un'interpretazione restrittiva e strumentale di un luogo omerico» (A.M. BIRASCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 103).

accreditato. E ciò in base a considerazioni inerenti sia il paragrafo in discussione sia l'impianto dell'intera opera tucididea.

L'atteggiamento polemico assunto da Tucidide nei confronti di Ellanico⁴⁸, l'unico storico di cui si faccia il nome nella *Guerra del Peloponneso*, è un indizio sufficientemente esplicito del fatto che neanche Tucidide poté esimersi dal fare i conti con la massiccia produzione storiografica del contemporaneo.

Proprio alla luce del rapporto fra i due storici, per esempio, è stata letta la scelta tucididea di organizzare cronologicamente la narrazione per estati ed inverni⁴⁹. Si tratta di una delle poche alternative non esperite, a quanto pare, da Ellanico, che aveva invece sperimentato in alcune opere la possibilità di utilizzare sistemi di datazione locale per organizzare la materia storica⁵⁰, ricorrendo anche a forme di datazione doppia, in modo che un avvenimento fosse situabile cronologicamente sia all'interno sia all'esterno dell'ambito locale⁵¹. In questo campo una delle ultime novità editoriali doveva essere l'opera che utilizzava come impianto cronologico la successione delle sacerdotesse del tempio di Era ad Argo, cui Tucidide fa riferimento in due occasioni⁵², come se tenesse il testo di Ellanico «sul tavolo di lavoro»⁵³.

Sul piano dei contenuti, poi, alcune sezioni dell'*Archaiologia* sembrano presupporre il rinvio a più di un'opera dello storico lesbio.

⁴⁸ I 97.2: cf. D. AMBAGLIO, *L'opera storiografica di Ellanico di Lesbo*, Pisa 1980, p. 158-160.

⁴⁹ J.D. SMART, *Thucydides and Hellenicus*, in I.S. MOXON – J.D. SMART – A.J. WOODMAN (edd.), *Past Perspectives. Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, Cambridge 1986, p. 19-35; S. HORNBLOWER, *Thucydides*, London 1987, p. 84.

⁵⁰ Come dimostrano i titoli delle opere *Vincitori alle Carnee* e *Sacerdotesse di Era ad Argo*. Nell'*Atthis*, invece, Ellanico usava il sistema di datazione arcontale (*FGrHist* 4 FF 171-2 = 186-187 Ambaglio). Si deve supporre, quindi, che principalmente contro di lui fossero indirizzate le critiche tucididee sull'imprecisione di una datazione attraverso un elenco di nomi magistratuali o, più in generale, secondo l'indicazione di una carica (V 20.2-3 cf. II 1): D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 49-50 e n. 188; M. CHAMBERS, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 190.

⁵¹ Un bell'esempio è offerto da F 79b = 155b Ambaglio, in cui il passaggio dei Siculi in Sicilia è datato sulla base delle generazioni anteriori alla guerra di Troia e dell'anno di sacerdozio di Alcione ad Argo (D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* [n. 48], p. 149).

⁵² II 2.1 e IV 133.2.

⁵³ D. AMBAGLIO, *Per il reperimento di materiali di storia locale greca: Diodoro, Strabone e Pausania*, in Συγγραφή. *Materiali e appunti per lo studio della storia e della letteratura antica*, Como 1998, p. 100-101 [93-109]; K.J. DOVER, *La colonizzazione della Sicilia in Tucidide*, *Maia* 6 (1953), p. 3-4 [1-20]. Sul carattere di compilazione cronografica delle *Sacerdotesse*, vd. ora A. MÖLLER, *The Beginning of Chronography: Hellenicus' Hiereiai*, in N. LURAGHI (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 35), p. 240-262.

Infatti, i riferimenti al continuo mutamento di abitanti della Tessaglia, della Beozia e della maggior parte del Peloponneso, di contro alla relativa stabilità di popolamento dell'Arcadia⁵⁴ e dell'Attica⁵⁵, la capacità di quest'ultima di divenire rifugio per gruppi «scacciati da qualche altro paese della Grecia in seguito a una guerra o a una contesa interna»⁵⁶, la descrizione della Grecia prima e dopo l'avvento di Elleno⁵⁷ appaiono l'estrema sintesi di quanto Ellanico aveva estesamente raccolto nelle opere genealogico-mitografiche (*Foronide* e *Deucalionea*) e ripreso in quelle etnografiche⁵⁸ (e. g. *Thessalika*, *Boiotika*, *Arkadika* e *Atthis*).

Nella *Foronide* e nella *Deucalionea* Ellanico narrava la storia più antica dell'Ellade e, in particolare, la nascita di Deucalion e il suo regno sulla Tessaglia⁵⁹. Da qui gli Elleni scacciarono i Pelasgi, come ricorda F 4⁶⁰, che sembra esemplificare la diffusione del nome dei figli di Elleno a discapito degli altri popoli — tra cui figuravano appunto i Pelasgi —, descritta da Tuciddide I 3.2⁶¹. In questo passaggio lo storico ateniese puntualizza che Elleno e i suoi figli presero forza nella Ftiotide, una delle quattro parti della Tessaglia che Ellanico aveva descritto assieme alla Pelasgiotide, alla Tessalioxide e all'Estieotide⁶².

Il possibile sfondo dei cursori riferimenti tucididei alla fluidità del più antico popolamento della Grecia si può intravedere attraverso altri frammenti. Mi riferisco, per esempio, a F 125⁶³ — che riporta la discendenza dei figli di Elleno e sembra contenere materiale proveniente sia dalla *Deucalionea* sia dall'*Atthis* —, a F 51⁶⁴ — che allude alla primitiva

⁵⁴ I 2.3, cf. I 12.3.

⁵⁵ I 2.5.

⁵⁶ I 2.6.

⁵⁷ I 3.2.

⁵⁸ Sulla possibilità che Ellanico nelle opere etnografiche avesse ripreso, ed eventualmente variato, argomenti già trattati in quelle genealogico-mitografiche, con la conseguenza che le stesse notizie potevano essere contenute in più di un'opera, vd. le considerazioni di D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 37.

⁵⁹ Cf. FF 6a e b (= 32a e b Ambaglio) e 117 (45 Ambaglio).

⁶⁰ 4 Ambaglio.

⁶¹ Cf. IV 109.4: vd. D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 104-105. Sui Pelasgi vd. ora: R. FOWLER, *Pelasgians*, in E. CSAPO – M.C. MILLER (edd.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis. The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece. Essays in Honour of W.J. Slater*, Oxford 2003, p. 2-18; C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *Herodotos (and others) on Pelasgians. Some Perceptions of Ethnicity*, in *Herodotus and his World*, ed. by P. DEROW & R. PARKER, Oxford 2003, p. 107-121.

⁶² F 52 = 138 Ambaglio.

⁶³ 184 Ambaglio.

⁶⁴ 137 Ambaglio.

occupazione della Beozia da parte degli Aioni e al cambiamento del nome della regione ad opera di Beoto — e a F 14⁶⁵ — proveniente dalla *Deucalionea*, in cui si cita l'Arnea, che per Tuciddide era la patria tessalica dei Beoti prima che ne fossero scacciati dai Tessali 60 anni dopo la guerra di Troia⁶⁶.

Anche lo storico lesbio, poi, faceva riferimento all'autoctonia degli Arcadi, come dimostra F 161⁶⁷, che viene annoverato tra i frammenti del *Peri Arkadias*, anche se l'argomento si adatta altrettanto bene al tema della *Foronide*⁶⁸.

Quasi sorprendente è infine F 42b⁶⁹, che calza perfettamente come esempio della caratteristica di Atene di accogliere gruppi allontanati in seguito a una guerra. Il frammento infatti ricorda l'arrivo ad Atene, sotto il regno di Munico, dei Traci che avevano fatto una spedizione militare contro gli abitanti di Orcomeno Minia in Beozia e ne erano stati scacciati: il re affidò loro la Munichia, che fu chiamata così in suo onore⁷⁰.

E ancora: i problematici ritorni dei Greci da Troia e la colonizzazione della Ionia da parte degli Ateniesi, argomenti cui Tuciddide accenna solo in I 12, dovevano essere ricostruiti con dovizia di particolari nei *Troika* e nella stessa *Atthis*. Sono stati considerati di derivazione ellanicea: l'annotazione dell'intervallo di 60 anni fra la caduta di Troia e la migrazione in I 12.3; la notizia del ritorno degli Eraclidi circa 60 anni dopo la guerra di Troia in Strabone XIII 1.3; l'*excursus* sull'origine del nome di Argo di Anfilochia da Anfiloco, figlio di Anfiarao di ritorno dalla guerra di Troia⁷¹. Viceversa, la menzione, proveniente dai *Troika*, di Critote, città del Chersoneso⁷², è stata letta alla luce di Tuciddide I 11.1, in cui si ricorda che i Greci durante l'assedio di Troia, per mancanza di vettovaglie, si diedero a coltivare il Chersoneso⁷³.

⁶⁵ 40 Ambaglio.

⁶⁶ I 12.3.

⁶⁷ 134 Ambaglio.

⁶⁸ D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 141.

⁶⁹ 165b Ambaglio.

⁷⁰ Non è questa l'unica interpretazione possibile. R. NICOLAI ha scelto di spiegare questi riferimenti alla Tessaglia, alla Beozia, al Peloponneso e ad Atene come un esempio di «reduplication, i.e. a repetition of facts attested in more recent times», osservando anche che il tema dell'autoctonia e dell'ospitalità ateniese era proprio della propaganda e ricorreva anche nella tradizione degli epitafi (*art. cit.* [n. 38], p. 269).

⁷¹ Thuc. II 68.3. Cf. D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 49 n. 187.

⁷² F 27 (= 73 Ambaglio).

⁷³ Si tratta di un'ipotesi avanzata da Jacoby che D. AMBAGLIO giudica non dimostrabile, ma plausibile (*op. cit.* [n. 48], p. 123). Da parte sua, R. NICOLAI (*art. cit.* [n. 38],

In favore dell'interesse di Ellanico per Neleo, figlio di Codro, fondatore della Dodecapoli ionica parlano i FF 125 e 48⁷⁴, mentre sul versante della storia ateniese più recente, è sembrato lecito ritenere che la tradizione secondo cui Ipparco sarebbe stato tiranno quando fu ucciso, contro la quale Tuciddide si scaglia in I 20.2 e VI 54.1-2, fosse stata diffusa da Ellanico nell'*Atthis*, dal momento che Erodoto, l'unico oltre al lesbio ad aver potuto parlare della fine della tirannide prima di Tuciddide, sapeva che Ipparco era il fratello del tiranno⁷⁵.

Infine, lo stesso interesse eurematografico dimostrato da Ellanico nelle opere etnografiche è stato colto nella lunga digressione sulle antichissime abitudini e fogge del vestire in Tuciddide I 6⁷⁶.

Anche I 9.2 può essere proficuamente messo a confronto con il materiale ellanico in nostro possesso. Infatti, la storia dell'uccisione di Crisippo da parte di Atreo e dell'esilio di quest'ultimo a seguito del suo atto è puntualmente narrata nel F 157 di Ellanico⁷⁷. Nel materiale ellanico pervenutoci, invece, non c'è menzione dell'affidamento ad Atreo del regno di Euristeo durante la sua spedizione in Attica, anche se diventa difficile pensare che lo storico di Lesbo non ne parlasse, se non nella stessa opera per lo meno negli *Argolika*.

p. 272) propone ipoteticamente che derivi dal ciclo epico. Un'osservazione non esclude l'altra, in quanto Ellanico, in opere come i *Troika*, doveva essere stato un importante veicolatore della tradizione epica, anche non omerica. Per la plausibilità che qui Tuciddide si stia riferendo ad Ellanico e per il possibile contesto della menzione di Critote nei *Troika* vd. A.M. BIRASCHI, *op. cit.* (n. 44), p. 58-59.

⁷⁴ Rispettivamente 184 e 171 Ambaglio.

⁷⁵ VI 55.1: A.W. GOMME – A. ANDREWES – K.J. DOVER, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* IV, Oxford 1970, p. 320-322; S. HORNBLOWER, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 84. In alternativa, D. AMBAGLIO (*art. cit.* [n. 37], p. 9) attribuisce il biasimo di Tuciddide all'oralità di questa notizia, la cui inesattezza poteva forse essere verificata attraverso fonti scritte. A.W. GOMME, particolarmente sensibile all'individuazione del rapporto tra Tuciddide e gli storiografi precedenti e contemporanei, osservava anche che lo storico ateniese (I 18.1), proprio come Ellanico (F 116 = 31 Ambaglio, cf. *FGrHist* 70 FF 117-118), non faceva il nome di Licurgo in merito all'istituzione della costituzione spartana, pur sottolineando che il lesbio attribuiva l'origine dell'*eunomia* spartana al tempo dei primi re, Euristene e Procle, cioè moltissimo prima di quanto facesse Tuciddide (*op. cit.* [n. 3], p. 130 e n. 2). Su questo punto è stato dimostrato infatti che Tuciddide, benché in effetti non faccia il nome di Licurgo, purtuttavia informa l'inciso sulla costituzione spartana di una struttura e di una cronologia affini a quella della digressione di Erodoto (I 65), che riconosce nel legislatore spartano l'arche dell'*eunomia*: per tutto ciò vd. A. PARADISO, *Tempo della tradizione, tempo dello storico: Thuc. I.18 e la storia arcaica spartana*, *SSor* 28 (1995), p. 39 ss. [35-45].

⁷⁶ Cf. F 178a (= 109a Ambaglio) e D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 33 e 42 n. 153.

⁷⁷ F 65 Ambaglio. Nel materiale ellanico confluito nella *Periegesi* di Pausania (II 16.6) si fa anche riferimento alla presenza della tomba di Atreo a Micene: cf. F 155 (= 93 Ambaglio).

F 157, infatti, è stato attribuito all'*Atlantide*, poiché in quell'opera tra le altre doveva essere narrata la discendenza di Enomao che dava lo spunto per ricostruire lo stemma dei Pelopidi attraverso Ippodamia, figlia di Enomao andata in sposa a Pelope⁷⁸. Qui poteva verosimilmente trovare posto anche il racconto della nascita di Crisippo da una precedente unione di Pelope e dell'uccisione del fratellastro per mano di Atreo e Tieste, figli di Pelope, su istigazione della madre Ippodamia. Tuttavia, l'andamento del racconto tucidideo, volto com'è a spiegare l'avvicendamento dei Pelopidi ai Perseidi sul regno di Micene — relegando il racconto dell'uccisione di Crisippo a sola spiegazione della presenza di Atreo in Argolide —, potrebbe portare il segno della provenienza del materiale da un'opera di carattere regionale quale gli *Argolika*. In essa Ellanico poteva anche fare riferimento alla spedizione di Euristeo in Attica, la cui narrazione tuttavia doveva essere ripresa nell'*Atthis*⁷⁹.

Anche l'indicazione della provenienza di Pelope dall'Asia doveva appartenere all'insieme di notizie che Ellanico aveva raccolto a proposito dell'eponimo del Peloponneso, come suggerisce la presenza tra i frammenti ellanicei di un riferimento a Sipilo⁸⁰, che era la sede delle leggende relative a Pelope prima che lasciasse la sua terra d'origine⁸¹.

⁷⁸ D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 29-30.

⁷⁹ Ciò è ancor più verosimile, se si considera che Ferecide, una delle fonti di Ellanico (D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* [n. 48], p. 44-45), già presentava un racconto alquanto circostanziato della vicenda (FGrHist 3 F 84). D'altro canto, la non perfetta aderenza fra il racconto ellanico di F 157 e quello tucidideo in I 9. 2 ha indotto M. CHAMBERS a mettere in dubbio che la fonte di Tuciddide sia Ellanico e a proporre in alternativa il nome di Carone di Lampsaco (FGrHist 262), che annoverava fra le sue opere una sui *Pritani dei Lacedemoni*, di cui però non rimane alcun frammento di attribuzione certa (*art. cit.* [n. 2], p. 192). Un'alternativa più verosimile a Ellanico è Acusilao di Argo, proposto da R. NICOLAI (*art. cit.* [n. 38], p. 271). In effetti, lo storico argivo scrisse un'opera dedicata agli *Argivische Stammabäume*, i cui frammenti rimasti tuttavia non consentono un confronto con il passo tucidideo, perché non scendono fino al livello temporale necessario. Ma, nella prospettiva in cui mi sono posta, non è indispensabile cercare uno storiografo locale: è la fonte primaria ad essere locale, non necessariamente il suo intermediario.

⁸⁰ F 76 = 152 Ambaglio.

⁸¹ Per le fonti vd. D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 148. È stata anche avanzata l'ipotesi che la fonte di Tuciddide in questo passaggio sia Ecateo, che in F 119 (= 130 Nenci) parlava della venuta di Pelope dalla Frigia (L. PORCIANI, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 119-120). Tuttavia, come già aveva fatto notare F. JACOBY (FGrHist, *Komm.*, p. 342), il tenore delle due testimonianze, pur nella loro concisione, appare diverso. Non va sottovalutato infatti che nella tradizione, cui fa riferimento Tuciddide, Pelope giunge nel Peloponneso portando con sé molte ricchezze e non una moltitudine d'uomini (λαοὺς), come afferma Ecateo: dal punto di vista storiografico non sembra una differenza di scarso rilievo. Di grande interesse, invece, il fatto che anche per Ecateo — se il dettato del frammento è fedele e non ha subito interventi da parte del testimone (Strab. VII 7.1) —, come per la fonte di

Quel che è certo è che, a proposito di Crisippo, Ellanico utilizzava tradizioni locali peloponnesiache, visto che della storia del figlio prediletto di Pelope esisteva anche una versione tebana⁸². Onde è possibile che, mentre nell'*Atlantide* annunciava il ritorno di Atreo nella regione di Pisa per prendere possesso del regno del padre dopo la sua morte⁸³, negli *Argolika* concentrasse la narrazione sulle sole vicende dell'Argolide. Se così fosse, già lo storico lesbio avrebbe potuto sentirsi autorizzato a definire le sue fonti οἱ τὰ σαφέστατα Πελοποννησίων ... δεδεγμένοι.

In altri termini, se la fonte più verosimile di Tuciddide per questo passo sembra essere Ellanico, diventa inevitabile chiedersi, in ultima istanza, se già questi utilizzasse la categoria gnoseologica del τὸ σαφές nella selezione delle sue fonti.

In Tuciddide I 9.2 saremmo così di fronte a un riferimento, cursorio ma di grande significato, al metodo storiografico ellanico e, più in generale, all'atteggiamento degli storici contemporanei di Tuciddide di fronte alle proprie fonti.

L'ipotesi non appare peregrina alla luce del fatto che Antioco di Siracusa, contemporaneo un po' più anziano di Ellanico e di Tuciddide, utilizzava, in quella che appare come una vera e propria dichiarazione programmatica, la categoria del τὸ σαφές, combinata con quella del τὸ πιστόν, nella selezione delle tradizioni provenienti dagli antichi λόγοι⁸⁴.

Le tradizioni cui fa riferimento lo storico siracusano riguardano il più antico popolamento dell'Italia a partire dal regno di Italo e si collocano in un orizzonte temporale molto antico, precedente alla guerra di Troia⁸⁵, come quelle su Pelope che aprono il passo tucidideo in questione. Come se ciò non bastasse, in un passo della *Politica* di Aristotele, informato di

Tuciddide, l'insieme delle notizie sull'eponimo del Peloponneso proviene da tradizioni orali, τῶν μνημονευομένων (L. PORCIANI, *loc. cit.*).

⁸² D. AMBAGLIO, *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 121.

⁸³ F 157 = 65 Ambaglio.

⁸⁴ «Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα (FGrHist 555 F2): Antioco, figlio di Senofane, scrisse sull'Italia le notizie più degne di fede e più chiare derivanti dalle antiche tradizioni». Cf. per questo C. CUSCUNÀ, *I frammenti di Antioco di Siracusa. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Alessandria 2003, p. 7 ss. Le presenti note, infatti, hanno anche l'obiettivo di illustrare più ampiamente e precisare alcune affermazioni sul metodo di Ellanico, su cui in quella sede non era possibile dilungarsi (in particolare p. 8). Sulla forma proemiale dell'assunto antiocheo vd. L. PORCIANI, *La forma proemiale. Storiografia e pubblico nel mondo antico*, Pisa 1997, p. 46 ss.

⁸⁵ Per la cronologia di Italo rimando alla discussione in C. CUSCUNÀ, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65.

materiale che in buona parte potrebbe provenire da Antioco, le stesse tradizioni sono presentate come narrazioni dei *logioi* locali⁸⁶.

L'accostamento appare gravido di conseguenze. In tal modo, se fosse vero che Tucidide I 9.2 riflette con molta fedeltà il dettato ellaniceo — assunto congetturabile, ma non inconfutabilmente dimostrabile —, avremmo un altro esempio molto chiaro delle sperimentazioni tentate dagli storici contemporanei di Tucidide che, per scrivere storie locali, si trovavano a registrare tradizioni in larga parte orali, come dichiaratamente sono quelle contenute in I 9.2 (μνήμη) e come verosimilmente sono quelle antiochee.

Uno storico come Antioco, che intendeva stendere una storia dell'Occidente italiota e siceliota indipendente da quella di madrepatria⁸⁷, aveva interesse a presentare le sue fonti come eminentemente locali e soprattutto orali. Benché, infatti, Antioco avesse dei predecessori in Ippi di Reggio e in Stesicoro, il confronto, ove è possibile, delle rispettive versioni lascia intuire un'ampia distanza di vedute⁸⁸. Se Antioco, dunque, aveva in qualche modo recepito le tradizioni dei suoi predecessori, doveva però averle profondamente modificate, integrate o addirittura sostituite con altre di natura orale o almeno presentate come tali.

Come ho già avuto modo di sottolineare per Antioco⁸⁹, la recezione di certe categorie gnoseologiche proviene agli storici dall'ambiente sofistico, che attraverso lo sviluppo dell'oratoria forense influenza lo stile e il

⁸⁶ Si tratta di *Pol.* VII 10 1329b.8-22, che si apre con l'espressione «φασὶ γὰρ οἱ λόγιοι τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικοῦντων: raccontano infatti i dotti tra coloro che abitano colà», nella quale il genitivo va riferito ai *logioi*, secondo l'*usus* consolidato del termine, e non al successivo Ἰταλόν, come fanno i traduttori della *Politica* (F. CANTARELLI, *Latinion o Lametinion in Arist. Fr. 700 ed. Gigon* (apud *Dionys. Hal.*, A. r., I 72, 3-4)? *Nuove proposte storiografiche*, in *Tra l'Amato e il Savuto II*, a cura di G. DE SENSI SESTITO, Soveria Mannelli 1999 [2001], p. 62 n. 109 [17-84]). Il passo contiene una serie di notizie confrontabili con quelle tramandate sotto il nome di Antioco da Strabone e Dionigi di Alicarnasso, accanto ad altre che potrebbero provenire da una rielaborazione del materiale antiocheo da parte della storiografia successiva, ed in particolare di Filisto ed Eforo, come suggerito da R. VATTUONE, *Tradizioni locali e prospettive universali nella storiografia greca d'Occidente*, in *Storiografia locale e storiografia universale* cit. (n. 1), p. 268 e n. 13 [263-285]. Per la discussione del passo in rapporto ad Antioco vd. C. CUSCUNÀ, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ss. Ciò non esclude che il riferimento ai *logioi* locali in questo passo possa derivare da Antioco, che «avrebbe quindi seguito il costume erodoteo e probabilmente ecaataico di nominare gli indigeni come fonte a proposito di qualcosa che era capitato nella loro terra in un lontano passato», secondo quanto ipotizzato da N. LURAGHI, *Antioco di Siracusa*, in *Storici greci d'Occidente*, a cura di R. VATTUONE, Bologna 2002, p. 72-73 [55-89].

⁸⁷ C. CUSCUNÀ, *op. cit.*, p. 157-161.

⁸⁸ Per tutto questo vd. ora G. DE SENSI SESTITO, *Storiografia reggina e storiografia siceliota a confronto: considerazioni su Ippi ed Antioco*, in *Messina e Reggio nell'antichità: storia, società, cultura*. Atti del Convegno della S.I.S.A.C. (Messina-Reggio Calabria 24-26 maggio 1999), a cura di B. GENTILI e A. PINZONE, Soveria Mannelli 2002, p. 273-289.

⁸⁹ C. CUSCUNÀ, *op. cit.* (n. 84), p. 8.

linguaggio dello storico e gli fornisce i principi da applicare alla selezione delle fonti⁹⁰, suo apporto precipuo ed evoluzione più originale dell'insegnamento sofistico in campo storico.

L'insieme di queste considerazioni sembra illuminare il rapporto fra Tuciddide e la storiografia contemporanea, inducendo a prefigurare legami più stretti e diretti con essa di quanto l'atteggiamento estremamente critico dello storico ateniese faccia trasparire. Tutto lascia intendere che anche nella definizione del proprio metodo storiografico Tuciddide si sia avvalso dell'esperienza dei suoi predecessori e coetanei, facendola propria e applicandola alla sua teoria sull'opportunità di scrivere una storia che fosse unicamente contemporanea.

In Antioco, e forse in Ellanico, come in Tuciddide il ricorso all'aggettivo σαφής per definire una tradizione o una notizia è in primo luogo strettamente correlato alla qualità dell'*evidence*: fonti locali e molto spesso orali, per i primi due; testimoni oculari o prossimi ai fatti per il terzo. Come si è visto, si tratta di due categorie di *evidence* che dal punto di vista della loro 'natura' finiscono per avere lo stesso valore, in quanto ritenute entrambe particolarmente attendibili. Ciò tuttavia non basta: ad esse va poi accordata la *pistis*, che si fonda sull'attento vaglio critico dello storico⁹¹ sulla base degli indizi e delle prove a sua disposizione⁹².

Università di Torino

Cristina CUSCUNÀ

⁹⁰ L'esemplificazione più ampia di queste affermazioni è in Tuciddide stesso, dove l'esposizione dei principi di metodo appare fortemente influenzata dalla retorica forense, ed in particolare dai discorsi di Antifonte e da opere gorgiane quali l'*Encomio di Elena* e la *Difesa di Palamede*: I. M. PLANT, *art. cit.* (n. 28), p. 62-73.

⁹¹ J. W. ALLISON, *Word and Concept in Thucydides*, Atlanta 1997, p. 192-193; S. HORNBLOWER, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 102; J. MARINCOLA, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*, Cambridge 1999², p. 68.

⁹² Per Tuciddide, infatti, non è sufficiente che una fonte d'informazione sia locale per essere giudicata attendibile, come lo storico mostra chiaramente nell'*Archaiologia* siciliana. In VI 2.2 a proposito dell'origine dei Sicani, Tuciddide contrappone alla versione locale, fornita dai Sicani stessi e molto probabilmente accolta anche da Antioco di Siracusa (C. CUSCUNÀ, *op. cit.* [n. 84], p. 141 ss.), la tradizione che egli ritiene veritiera e frutto di accurata indagine (ἡ ἀλήθεια εὐρίσκεται), secondo la quale sarebbero un popolo di origine iberica, come doveva suggerire già Ecateo, annotando la presenza di una città *Sikane* in Iberia (F 45 = 53 Nenci), e forse riteneva, ma non è certo, lo stesso Ellanico (F 79b = 155b Ambaglio). Più complesso è stabilire il significato della *pistis* di Antioco (cf. *supra* n. 84), che, se per certi versi appare più affine a quella erodotea, potrebbe contenere già alcuni tratti di tipo probatorio che avvicinerrebbero il metodo storiografico dello storico siracusano a quello tucidideo. Si vedano, per esempio, le argomentazioni, peraltro molto mediate dal testimone, a proposito delle più antiche tradizioni di Metaponto (F 12): su questo passo vd. le riflessioni di N. LURAGHI, *art. cit.* (n. 86), p. 74-75 e il commento in C. CUSCUNÀ, *ibid.*, p. 130-131.

ASTENIA DEL MITO E DINAMISMO DELLA *GNOME*

LA CRISI DELL' *HELLENIKON* IN DUE DISCORSI DE LA GUERRA DEL PELOPONNESO*

Abstract: Just as the Jewish past was historicised by the message of the gospel, so in the Athens of Perikles the past of Greece is reduced to a preliminary stage preparing the greatness and power of the city in the present. It is not criticised or condemned, but has lost its meaning for contemporaries. Though not completely obliterated, it is remembered as distant and foreign. Historical memory can indeed bring some events to the fore and relegate others to the background. The present as it is constructed in Thucydides' history (i.e. the events of the Peloponnesian War) clearly shows that the past is no longer normative. This renunciation brings along with it a crisis of Hellenic self-consciousness, which could no longer be defined, as in Herodotus, in terms of a geopolitical partition of the world legitimised by myth.

'GENEALOGIA' DELLA MEMORIA?

Lo storico Flavio Giuseppe, nel sottolineare la non modificabilità della legge mosaica, affermava in un passo della sua *Vita* che nessuna forma di autoconservazione era stata ed era invece possibile in Grecia; nella *Contra Apionem* il concetto viene ribadito e rafforzato: mentre gli Ebrei sono disposti a morire per le loro *Scritture*, i Greci non farebbero lo stesso per Erodoto¹. Tuttavia Flavio Giuseppe non sembra aver colto del tutto

* Abbreviazioni bibliografiche:

Noi e i Greci: S. SETTIS (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, I. *Noi e i Greci*, Torino 1996.

Formazione: S. SETTIS (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 2. *Una storia greca*. I. *Formazione*, Torino 1997.

Definizione: S. SETTIS (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 2. *Una storia greca*. II. *Definizione*, Torino 1997.

Trasformazioni: S. SETTIS (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 2. *Una storia greca*. III. *Trasformazioni*, Torino 1997.

I Greci oltre la Grecia: S. SETTIS (a cura di), *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*, 3. *I Greci oltre la Grecia*, Torino 2001.

¹ IOS. FLAV., *Vita* XX 262-263; *Contra Apionem* I 42-45 e III 168-169. J. ASSMANN, *La Memoria culturale. Scrittura, ricordo e identità politica nelle grandi civiltà antiche*,

nel segno: la debolezza della sua argomentazione sta infatti nella analogia che egli istituisce fra le Scritture degli Ebrei, da un lato, e la storiografia e la filosofia greche dall'altro. Infatti, se esiste qualcosa che presso i Greci possa essere considerata come una fonte di legiformità predisposta ma sovraindividuale, sociale ma non riconducibile ad una convenzione orizzontale, qualcosa insomma che svolga il ruolo che presso la comunità giudaica è svolto dalla *Torah*, questo qualcosa va cercato in un altro tipo di testo, cioè nell'*epos* omerico².

Certamente, le differenze sono così sostanziali, che è appena il caso di rammentarle: la più macroscopica consiste nel fatto che, laddove la *Torah* raccomanda l'osservazione di regole e prescrizioni anche molto minute, conferendo valore fondante alla regola ed alla legge, nell'*epos* omerico viceversa è condizione di salvezza l'eccezione, il memorabile. Ciò non significa che l'*epos* omerico non si ponga come deposito di norme e di regole, anche attinenti il vivere quotidiano o, come Havelock ha messo in evidenza, le tecniche³. Questo aspetto è presente, pur non essendo centrale nel senso in cui la Legge lo è nella *Torah*. Il carattere normativo dell'*epos* omerico è stato messo in luce con forza da Havelock, la cui famosa definizione di «enciclopedia tribale» ha consentito non solo di evidenziare l'importanza centrale che la messa al bando della poesia «multiforme» riveste nel progetto platonico della *Repubblica*, ma anche di definire il rapporto fra *epos* e *paideia* in termini che ci consentono di vedere in Omero il riferimento principale⁴.

Fatte salve tali differenze, ciò che qui conta è il carattere predisposto della 'nomicità' che questi testi, a partire da un certo momento della loro 'storia', pur con le loro differenze, esemplificano. Se Omero è l'unico candidato a svolgere il ruolo fondante che nel giudaismo è svolto dal sacro, ciò avviene perché il mito — come afferma Ian Assmann — è «una storia che ci si racconta per orientarsi in relazione a se stessi e al mondo; è una verità di ordine superiore che non solo “quadra”, ma oltre a ciò pone anche istanze normative e possiede forza formativa»⁵.

Torino 1997 [München 1992], p. 225 e ss. Un inquadramento del problema dal punto di vista storiografico in P. DESIDERI, *Scrivere gli eventi storici*, in *Noi e i Greci*, p. 955-1013.

² J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 228; anche F. BERTOLINI, *La guerra di Troia: una vicenda esemplare*, in *Formazione*, p. 1216.

³ E.A. HAVELOCK, *Cultura orale e civiltà della scrittura*, Roma-Bari 1973 [Cambridge (MA) 1963].

⁴ Sulla esemplarità delle vicende epiche, F. BERTOLINI, *La guerra di Troia: una vicenda esemplare*, in *Formazione*, p. 1211-1230.

⁵ J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 49.

Gli studi degli anni ottanta e novanta sull'iconografia vascolare mostrano come nel mondo greco almeno fino alla metà del V secolo le gesta degli dei e degli eroi costituiscano dei modelli di comportamento al punto tale che «le uniche azioni umane che possono essere scritte e lette nel linguaggio iconografico, sono quelle che gli stessi dei hanno compiuto o possono compiere»⁶. Nella società arcaica la classe aristocratica è, al contempo, l'unica discendente degli eroi e degli dei e l'unica ad essere rappresentata figurativamente, intenta a quelle occupazioni — caccia, palestra, banchetto, simposio, sacrificio — di cui dei od eroi sono i 'primi inventori'⁷.

Ad Atene, il caso meglio documentato, ma anche in qualsiasi altra *polis* della Grecia, i comportamenti dei singoli erano determinati da una serie di modelli che, a vari livelli, indicavano quale potesse essere il comportamento adeguato a ciascuna circostanza. In quanto Greco, cioè partecipe dell'*Hellenikon*, e in quanto Ateniese, il cittadino era stimolato a conformarsi ad una serie di modelli fondanti che costituivano una sorta di codice. Questi modelli erano talmente pervasivi da insinuarsi in ogni attività umana, cosicché esisteva un *πρῶτος εὔρετής* per ogni esercizio intellettuale e manuale dell'uomo; *protos eures* che dimorando nel tempo immobile della fondazione, passato e presente al tempo stesso, garantiva la legittimità/non legittimità di ogni comportamento⁸.

IL RICORDO, FRONTIERA DEL NUOVO

Durante la guerra del Peloponneso, la crisi dei modelli e del riferimento al passato si lega indissolubilmente agli avvenimenti disastrosi che precipitano la Grecia in un trentennio di caos e violenza. Il *logos epitaphios*, pronunciato da Pericle per i morti del primo anno di guerra, mostra bene il carattere normativo e formativo del riferimento al passato ed anche il suo limite. Ho analizzato questo aspetto del discorso di Pericle in altra

⁶ N. VALENZA MELE, *Il politico e la sua immagine tra il V e IV secolo a.C.: il ruolo di Pericle e della sua cerchia*, in *Mélanges P. Lévêque V (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 429 — Centre de Recherche d'Histoire Ancienne, 101)*, Paris 1990, p. 387-414. Su questi problemi ora Margot SCHMIDT, *Iconografia del mito*, in *Definizione*, p. 867-896.

⁷ Su ciò, da prospettive diverse: T. HÖLSCHER, *Immagini dell'identità greca*, in *Definizione*, p. 191-250, ed P. ELLINGER, *Il mito: riscritture e riusi*, in *Definizione*, p. 839-866.

⁸ Sulla figura del *protos eures*, con relativa bibliografia, C. CASERTA, «Non fidarti del narratore ma della storia». *Tucidide protos eures e la guerra del Peloponneso*, *Hermes* 3-4 (2001-2002), p. 149-176.

sede, tuttavia ricapitolando brevemente quanto già detto, è possibile fare ulteriori osservazioni⁹.

Esso si svolge al cospetto dei partecipanti al rito funebre che accompagna la sepoltura dei caduti del primo anno della guerra del Peloponneso. E' un discorso *che* ricorda e *sul* ricordo e pertanto chiama in causa la comunità nel rifarsi ad un modello superiore. Che cosa deve essere ricordato? E perché deve essere ricordato? Queste domande sono cruciali in un momento di crisi dei modelli. Pericle si chiede precisamente *se* e *quanto* la pratica consueta del ricordo sia conforme alla nuova idea di città che egli intende veicolare. Dunque: è giusto ricordare così come fino ad ora si è ricordato?

Cominciamo col notare che il discorso si configura come il campo di una polarizzazione: altri/io (οἱ μὲν πολλοί ... ἐμοὶ δέ). Pericle si pone come un modello da imitare: tale imitazione comporta però un differenziarsi esplicito dalla prassi abituale e tradizionale. Chi vuol ricordare come ricorda Pericle si trova davanti ad un bivio: deve abbandonare il modo in cui finora *gli altri* hanno ricordato.

La riflessione di Pericle inizia con la lode del fondatore della consuetudine di pronunciare un discorso celebrativo dei caduti in battaglia: si tratta — dice Pericle — di una prassi consolidata, che consiste appunto nel porre il proprio atto di parola sulla scia di un atto simile compiuto in passato, che funge da fondazione assoluta, *in illo tempore*, della prassi attuale. Colui che ha fondato la prassi del *logos epitaphios*, il *protos eures*, è citato come garante¹⁰. Questa citazione tuttavia non è fatta da Pericle in prima persona: egli si riferisce ad essa come ad una prassi seguita *dalla maggioranza di coloro che in passato hanno rivestito il ruolo di Parlante che ora egli ricopre*. Per quanto lo riguarda, riterrebbe invece sufficiente *dimostrare con i fatti*: cioè semplicemente citare mostrando il contesto in cui il *logos* si sta svolgendo: «fatti concreti come quelli che vedete adesso intorno a questa tomba». Poiché, secondo Pericle, «il credere nella virtù di molti non deve dipendere da colui che parla, bene o male».

⁹ C. CASERTA, *La voce muta. Memoria collettiva, scrittura, identità ne* La guerra del Peloponneso, *Hormos* 5 (2003), numero monografico. Impossibile riportare, sia pure per cenni, la vastissima bibliografia sul *logos epitaphios*. Inquadramento generale in D. MUSTI, *Demokratía. Origini di un'idea*, Roma-Bari 1999. In generale per problemi tucididei, molto aggiornata e utilissima la bibliografia presente in J.J. PRICE, *Thucydides and Internal War*, Cambridge 2001.

¹⁰ Pare tuttavia che tale prassi non fosse tanto antica come Pericle/Tucidide vuol far credere: Nicole LORAUX, *L'invention d'Athènes*, Paris 1993².

Mettendo tra parentesi la lode del fondatore della prassi del ricordo, a me sembra che Pericle ponga la questione se i valori debbano dipendere da una codificazione esterna, sovrastante il singolo che può soltanto ripeterla e porsi nella sua scia, come i precedenti oratori hanno fatto finora, ovvero, come egli indica, dai ‘fatti’, dal contesto sperimentato *hic et nunc*. Vi è infatti secondo Pericle, come mostra la polemica contro Omero su cui tornerò tra breve, una dissimetria tra la realtà e la parola, per cui la parola è sempre ‘troppa’ o ‘troppo poca’ rispetto alla realtà vissuta. La parola di cui si sta parlando non è la parola in senso assoluto: è invece la parola intesa saussurianamente come *Parole* individuale che replica senza innovarla una *Langue* predisposta e astratta¹¹. Tale parola non può mai prendere atto dell’evidenza, dei fatti che si presentano al parlante.

Siamo dunque in presenza di un invito a riflettere su quella antica prassi, anzi sul rapporto fra quella prassi e l’azione che si compie in quel momento davanti agli occhi degli spettatori. I ‘molti’ che lo hanno preceduto e che hanno sentito il bisogno di affermare preliminarmente la nomicità del ricordare, rimandando all’autorità di un archetipo, hanno ridotto il contesto attuale a mera replica di un originale già dato. Pericle, benché ritenga non indispensabile tale riferimento, non vuole tuttavia — ed è questo un punto di capitale importanza — opporsi al *nomos*, vuole invece instaurare una relazione empatica con gli astanti, «corrispondere il più possibile al vostro desiderio e al vostro pensiero».

Il modello, nelle parole di Pericle, non viene dunque abrogato, ma ‘posto tra parentesi’. L’atteggiamento di Pericle nei confronti dei modelli è chiarissimo nel modo in cui affronta il tema dell’autoctonia, vero e proprio nucleo fondante dell’identità ateniese¹². Se gli antenati — egli afferma — sono degni di lode per aver mantenuto libera la terra, l’Attica, in cui hanno sempre vissuto, lo sono *ancora di più* coloro che hanno ampliato l’impero, cioè la generazione cui appartengono i presenti: «noi e i nostri padri». Questo passo mette in evidenza — a mio avviso — la avvenuta ‘storicizzazione’ o, se si vuole, ‘archiviazione’ di un certo passato. Non il passato *tout-court* come vogliono certi interpreti legati

¹¹ Il carattere ‘castrante’ e ‘mortifero’ della *Parole* saussuriana è evidenziato da M. LA MATINA, *Cronosensibilità. Una teoria per lo studio filosofico dei linguaggi*, Roma 2004, p. 435 e ss.

¹² Su questi temi la bibliografia è abbondantissima: indispensabile N. LORAUX, *Inchiesta sulla costruzione di un omicidio nella storia*, in *Nati dalla terra. Mito e politica ad Atene*, Roma 1998 [Paris 1996], p. 115-140; anche D. ASHERI, *Identità greche, identità greca*, in *Definizione*, p. 5-26.

all'immagine dello storico antico «esiliato nel presente»¹³, ma il passato immobile e generatore di soggezione degli antenati autoctoni. Il loro valore e le loro azioni, per quanto grandi, non possono essere più significativi della normatività che la generazione attuale incarna¹⁴.

Se la realtà è più varia, più grande, più significativa di quanto possa esserlo la parola ciò accade perché la parola si richiama ad una fonte di legittimazione che è (ormai) esteriore: Omero. Per la prima volta — secondo Pericle in Thuc. II 41.4 — il riferimento ad Omero è superfluo. Non falso o da condannare o, peggio, da emendare, ma superfluo in quanto limitante.

UDITORIO SAUSSURIANO?

Il discorso su Omero occupa la seconda parte del *logos* pericleo (Thuc. II 41), in stretto rapporto con quello che a me sembra un appello indiretto agli alleati, presenti alla commemorazione¹⁵. La lode dei caduti è infatti, nel discorso di Pericle, lode di Atene, della sua grandezza. Tale grandezza — ha sostenuto Pericle — non consiste nelle imprese di guerra che hanno consentito la fondazione dell'impero, quanto nei principi e nella costituzione che li sottende: è una evidenza che si impone alla parola con forza probatoria tale da far risaltare come superfluo il riferimento mitico: Noi spieghiamo a tutti la nostra potenza con importanti testimonianze e molte prove, e saremo ammirati dagli uomini di ora e dai posteri senza bisogno delle lodi di un Omero o di un altro (...).

Il discorso verte qui sulla prova. Sebbene in modo indiretto, risulta abbastanza chiaro che Pericle intende condannare un tipo di conformità esteriore al modello omerico, una ostentazione di eroismo, di memorabilità che abbia il suo fondamento non nella evidenza dei fatti ma nel suo porsi esclusivamente come replica, automaticamente e perennemente

¹³ Per esempio, J. LOZANO, *Il discorso storico*, Palermo 1993 [Madrid 1987]. Tale *vulgata* risale almeno agli studi di Momigliano ed è stata accolta dalla scuola storico-antropologica di Hartog: vd. A. MOMIGLIANO, *Sui fondamenti della storia antica*, Torino 1984, e F. HARTOG, *La storiografia fra passato e presente*, in *Definizione*, p. 959-981, e *The Invention of History: the Pre-History of a Concept from Homer to Herodotus*, *H&T* 39 (2000), p. 384-395.

¹⁴ Interessanti osservazioni sul tono violento che questa pretesa assume quando diventa *scholarship*, in G. MOST, *Atene come scuola della Grecia*, in *Definizione*, p. 1339-1354.

¹⁵ Thuc. II 36.4.

valida, del mito. Nel dire agli alleati cosa è la potenza di Atene, Pericle intende così delegittimare un altro modello; un modello, se così si può dire, di osservanza esteriore del codice eroico.

Io ritengo che il bersaglio polemico di tutto il discorso sulla ‘prova’ sia Sparta, con le sue pretese di incarnare, rispetto al contesto panellenico, il modello omerico di Agamennone. A Siracusa, nel perorare il proprio diritto a guidare la coalizione degli alleati contro i Persiani, gli Spartani — stando ad Erodoto VII 159 — eevano richiamato l’autorità del ‘Pelopide Agamennone’. Il rimando degli Ateniesi — nello stesso contesto siracusano — all’opaco Menesteo omerico è con tutta evidenza avvertito come insufficiente, tanto che esso è rafforzato dall’appello all’antichità della stirpe e all’autoctonia.

Il modello omerico, nel nuovo contesto determinato dall’espansione ateniese, mostra il suo limite, la sua incapacità di offrire rispetto al nuovo un archetipo attendibile: un tale modello è evidentemente insensibile ai fatti, alle evidenze¹⁶.

Il discorso di Pericle intende denunciare un uso del mito da parte di Sparta del tutto formale se non formalistico¹⁷: è proprio la possibilità di un riferimento al codice meramente esteriore che consente a Tucidide di dichiarare l’astenia del mito. Tale astenia consiste precisamente nella ‘indifferenza’ del mito alla evidenza probatoria costituita dal fatto ‘nuovo’ della potenza di Atene¹⁸. Essa rivela la imm modificabilità dell’archetipo come limitante, mortifera.

L’evidenza probatoria, che la parola di Pericle può invece raccogliere, mostra con chiarezza che qualcosa nel mito, o in qualunque archetipo, è incompiuto, abbozzato: ciò lascia spazio ad un compimento del mito. La parola è per Pericle — possiamo ormai affermare — ‘cronosensitiva’, essa cioè non ha significato prima che si manifesti l’evidenza alla luce

¹⁶ Un riflesso di ciò è forse nel fatto che il più ‘omerico’ dei personaggi tucididei sia quel Nicia, spesso accostato ad Agamennone: su ciò A.V. ZADOROJNYI, *Thucydides’ Nicias and Homer’s Agamemnon*, *CQ* 48 (1998), p. 298-303.

¹⁷ E la denuncia involve naturalmente anche le pretese egemoniche fondate su di esso, quali quelle implicite nell’impostazione erodotea del tema dell’egemonia. Su ciò mi permetto di rimandare ad un mio contributo in corso di stampa: *L’invenzione della Sicilia e l’identità ateniese in Erodoto e Tucidide*, intervento al convegno *Dal Sikelikon all’Ellenikon*, tenutosi a Palermo nel dicembre 2003.

¹⁸ Queste osservazioni trovano un riscontro nella difficoltà o quanto meno nella ‘infelicità’ dei tentativi di inserimento di eroi ateniesi nell’*epos* omerico: su tali tentativi, A. ALONI, *L’intelligenza di Ipparco*, II: *La presenza degli eroi attici in Omero e nelle tradizioni arcaiche*, in *Graeco-Latina Mediolanensia (Quaderni di Acme, V)*, Milano 1985, p. 11-27.

della quale essa diventa vera per qualcuno¹⁹. Pericle rivaluta in tal modo la *Parole* del singolo individuo, che non si limita a replicare i tratti già fissati come nomici, a scapito della *Langue* e afferma anche che la nomicità non è collegata in anticipo con l'evidenza probatoria da cui trae la sua legittimità e legiformità. La sua autorità non può essere dedotta in modo meccanico-applicativo dalla premessa: Pericle si propone come un individuo capace di modificare o anche solo autenticare la *Langue*.

COMUNICAZIONE E CONVENZIONE: EPOS COME CODICE

Abbiamo dunque qualche elemento per affermare che la comunità panelenica (cittadini e stranieri) che partecipa al rito funebre per i morti del primo anno di guerra è una «comunità saussuriana». Essa dispone nell'*epos* omerico di un Codice dotato di forza normativa tale che si avvia a diventare 'Canone'. 'Canone' è infatti, secondo la definizione di Assmann, un «Codice di secondo grado» intendendo con ciò quella forma della tradizione in cui quest'ultima raggiunge il suo grado vincolante più alto rispetto al contenuto e la sua massima fissazione formale: non si può aggiungere, né levare, né cambiare nulla²⁰.

La storia del concetto di canone²¹, varie volte scritta, è molto antica e riguarda l'aderenza di un proferimento alla verità di un evento, ovvero al significato di un messaggio, o ancora ad un testo, o infine l'osservanza di una legge o di un contratto. Canone deriva dalla parola greca *kanon*, prestito dal semitico e importata nel mondo greco insieme all'oggetto che designava: la canna (*arundo donax*) che serviva per la produzione di bastoni e bacchette. *Canone* è il titolo di un manuale redatto dallo scultore Policleteo dove si esponevano le misure per il proporzionamento ideale del corpo umano. Sappiamo che anche Democrito compose un'opera dal medesimo titolo, come più tardi Epicuro; i sofisti ed Euripide usano 'canone' e 'canonici' vengono chiamati i Pitagorici. «Il denominatore comune di questi usi è — secondo Assman — l'aspirazione a conseguire la massima accuratezza e precisione (*akribeia*), ossia l'idea di uno strumento che serva sia alla conoscenza sia alla produzione (...) come norma dell'esattezza». L'applicazione del concetto di canone ad un uomo o ad

¹⁹ Riprendo il termine 'cronosensitività' e la relativa teoria da M. LA MATINA, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 435 e ss e *passim*.

²⁰ J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 85.

²¹ Espongo i risultati cui perviene J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 74-98.

un tipo umano come metro si trova in Aristotele ed è ripresa nella dottrina della mimesi dal classicismo augusteo: il modello stabilisce i limiti da non oltrepassare. Lisia è ‘canone’ del discorso giudiziario.

Se il modello illustra la norma, essa può anche essere stabilita mediante regole o leggi: la legge è ‘canone’, in contrapposizione all’arbitrio. Il *Decalogo* è ‘canone’ per Filone; per la Chiesa primitiva è ‘canone’ la singola risoluzione sinodale. Infine, in età imperiale vengono chiamate ‘canone’ anche liste e tabelle.

Nel IV secolo d.C. il dibattito in seno alla Chiesa sul *corpus* di letteratura sacra riconosciuto come vincolante fu concluso e venne stabilito un gruppo di opere da considerare sacre e autorevoli: questa lista fu chiamata ‘canone’ perché frutto di una risoluzione vincolante e avente funzione di legge. ‘Canone’ è dunque, nel mondo antico, uno strumento normativo, che appura *ciò che è* e prescrive *ciò che deve essere*; a partire dall’uso ecclesiastico ‘canone’ è sia concretamente il *corpus* sacralizzato, sia il principio sacralizzante.

Nel Canone, l’idea di normatività si somma a quella di regolamentazione: in esso il sistema delle regole si associa alla formulazione dei principi giudicati irrinunciabili. Ecco dunque che il concetto di canone, applicato al *corpus* epico ci permette di ipotizzare che la comunità panellenica del tempo di Pericle disponesse in esso di quel modello astratto e verticalizzato che cercavamo per sostenere l’analogia con la comunità giudaica dei tempi di Gesù²².

Simile per forza normativa al codice giudaico, il testo omerico lo è anche per quanto riguarda la canonizzazione: gli inizi della trasmissione organizzata del testo epico coincidono con la fine del periodo creativo dell’epica greca nella seconda metà del VI sec. a.C.; «anche in Israele — osserva Assmann — la “fine della profezia” segna l’inizio della canonizzazione (...). In questa prima fase di istituzione e organizzazione di una memoria culturale a livello panellenico, sotto forma di introiezione nazionale del testo di Omero, la ricezione aveva un’impronta marcatamente festiva, cerimoniale e comunitaria, ossia istitutrice di comunanza»²³. «Per il canone ebraico — sostiene ancora Assmann — la *Torah* gioca lo stesso ruolo di nucleo di cristallizzazione, di canone nel canone,

²² Gesù è — secondo M. LA MATINA, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 425 e ss. — quel ‘parlante nomico’ che svela la debolezza della Legge. Le osservazioni dell’Autore sul conflitto fra Gesù e gli scribi e in genere sull’idea di comunicazione che emerge dalle parole di Gesù sono davvero illuminanti: si vedano in particolare i capitoli 13 e 14.

²³ J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 231.

che Omero ha per il canone greco dei classici (...). Entrambi i processi sono già conclusi prima che, in età persiana, abbia inizio il generale mutamento culturale del mondo mediterraneo, durante il quale la Grecia si trasforma in cultura del libro e della lettura, e nell'Israele del Secondo Tempio gli scribi diventano i custodi della tradizione e i detentori della memoria culturale. Gli scribi guardano indietro verso i profeti così come i filologi verso i classici, come a un'epoca definitivamente conclusa e non perseguibile; in Israele essa dura da "Mosè ad Artaserse" (Esdra e Neemia), in Grecia da Omero a Euripide»²⁴.

In questo processo di riorganizzazione della memoria culturale un momento importante è quello che, a partire dalla metà del V secolo e attraverso tutto il secolo successivo, segna una fase di riflessione e sistematizzazione, dapprima nelle arti figurative e nell'architettura, chiamando in causa l'esistenza di modelli — appunto — canonici²⁵.

Per quanto concerne la canonizzazione di Omero, occorre dire che benché tale processo, al tempo dell'*epitaphios logos* di Pericle non fosse ancora arrivato a produrre un canone nel senso ora delineato, è evidente che, almeno fin da Senofane, il carattere normativo e prescrittivo di Omero viene posto in discussione nella *polis*. Segno questo del fatto che era avvertito con disagio il progressivo consolidarsi e configurarsi come immutabile ed immodificabile del testo epico e dei modelli di comportamento ad esso sottesi.

Da quella critica però, è bene precisare, Pericle si discosta nel momento in cui egli *non critica* il mito, non cerca di emendarlo o abrogarlo o interpretarlo, bensì si limita a dichiararne il carattere fondante per un *segmento delimitato e ormai concluso* della storia delle *poleis*. Occorre sottolineare la peculiarità della 'soluzione' periclea: del mito è possibile non tenere conto quando si disponga di una evidenza probatoria in grado di causare un rinegoziamento dei modelli.

ATTUALIZZARE, INTERPRETARE, RIEMPIRE: MODI DI PENSARE IL MITO

L'impegno a non modificare il testo omerico fissato per iscritto era già da tempo vigente nell'Atene del V secolo: se si deve prestare fede alla tradizione, almeno fin dalla famosa redazione pisistratea. Nella *polis*, in

²⁴ J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 235.

²⁵ J. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 1), p. 93.

realtà, Omero è già ‘sradicato’, per usare l’efficace espressione di Svenbro²⁶. In effetti, è possibile che proprio durante le tirannidi nelle varie *poleis* si fosse sentita la necessità di tutelare il testo omerico da interpolazioni o modifiche. Di certo tale esigenza doveva essere già operante al tempo di Senofane e di Teagene di Reggio, la cui polemica *pro e contro* Omero presuppone l’esistenza di ‘Omero’. Con essi in realtà ha inizio una corrente di interpretazione di Omero, che confluirà nella grande filologia alessandrina.

Dell’origine e del significato dell’interpretazione del mito, Jesper Svenbro ha messo bene in evidenza le componenti sociali²⁷; Marcel Detienne ha mostrato d’altra parte come si faccia strada parallelamente un ‘discorso’ sul mito, una mito-logia²⁸. Sono alcune delle tante forme attraverso le quali al mito è assicurata una presenza, una visibilità nella città. Accanto alla interpretazione, l’‘uso’. E’ importante notare come, durante la guerra del Peloponneso, il mito e le sue riattualizzazioni falliscano nella pretesa di dirimere questioni politiche nel presente: fallisce, per esempio, la politica degli Ateniesi in Sicilia, in gran parte centrata sul tema delle alleanze fondate da parentele mitiche e precedenti.

Il tema della *syngeneia* — smascherato da Ermocrate per quello che realmente era: mero opportunismo politico — viene messo in risalto notevole da Tuciddide, per mostrarne l’inconsistenza. La politica, nella accezione enfatica concepita da Pericle, viene in fondo danneggiata da questi usi del mito²⁹. La stessa condanna coinvolge, più in generale, l’attitudine a giudicare i fatti e i personaggi contemporanei alla luce di fatti e personaggi del passato. E’ ciò che accade, per esempio, con lo scandalo della Erme: la ‘tirannofobia’ che pervade la città e impedisce di giudicare correttamente e utilmente un personaggio come Alcibiade è proprio l’esito dell’‘incombere’ del passato — peraltro mal ricordato — sul presente³⁰.

Usi del passato, usi del mito: nel 415 la folla si lascia convincere ad agire in modo contrario al suo stesso interesse: l’origine di questa ‘deriva’ è individuata da Tuciddide nella classe politica che aveva (malamente)

²⁶ J. SVENBRO, *La parola e il marmo. Alle origini della poetica greca*, Torino 1984.

²⁷ J. SVENBRO, *o.c.*.

²⁸ M. DETIENNE, *L’invenzione della mitologia*, Torino 1983 [Paris 1981].

²⁹ Nel senso di C. MEIER, *La nascita della categoria del politico in Grecia*, Bologna 1988 [Frankfurt am Main 1980].

³⁰ C. CASERTA, *o.c.* (n. 9). Osservazioni illuminanti sul significato del tirannicidio in Tuciddide in N. LORAUX, *l.c.* (n. 12).

raccolto l'eredità di Pericle e che aveva risposto con la demagogia alla *stasis* che divorava le città³¹.

Proprio in un contesto di *stasis*, quello della *stasis* corcirese, troviamo un'osservazione che fa luce sulla forma in cui il problema della legiformità si presenta nell'Atene della guerra del Peloponneso. In III 82.4 infatti, dopo aver notato come quella di Corcira fu la prima di una serie di sedizioni che colpirono le città della Grecia, Tucidide afferma:

(...) l'usuale valore (ἀξίωσιν) che le parole avevano in rapporto all'oggetto fu mutato a seconda della sua stima (δικαιώσεται). Ché l'audacia dissennata fu considerata ardire devoto alla causa dei congiurati, e la previdente cautela viltà mascherata da un bel nome, e la moderazione un manto del vile, e la prudenza in ogni cosa un essere oziosi in ogni cosa.

Questa discussa³² e fondamentale osservazione di Tucidide mette bene in evidenza che l'uso formalistico del mito come codice di comunicazione fra le *poleis* nel contesto panellenico, preso di mira da Pericle nel *logos epitaphios* si inquadra in un più generale problema di comunicazione. Nel contesto della comunicazione interindividuale troviamo infatti la stessa configurazione: l'uso formalistico del (e l'allontanamento sostanziale dal) lessico tradizionale. A differenza di Pericle tuttavia, gli oratori suoi successori, 'orfani' del Codice, possono mettere in pericolo la città.

«SPETTATORI OZIOSI DI SOFISTI»

Il dibattito su Mitilene mostra la comunità ateniese in difficoltà: i suoi capi sono messi alla prova da una questione 'spinosa': intervenire o meno, ed in che modo, contro i Mitilenesi colpevoli di ribellione. Il contesto è noto: una parte dei Mitilenesi si era ribellata ed era passata al fronte peloponnesiaco: la defezione aveva provocato l'ira degli Ateniesi perché, fra tutti gli alleati, i Mitilenesi erano quelli che godevano delle condizioni migliori. In una prima assemblea era dunque stato stabilito

³¹ Su *stasis* in Tucidide, oltre H.J. GEHRKE, *La stasis*, in *Definizione*, p. 453-480, e K.J. HÖLKESKAMP, *La guerra e la pace*, in *Definizione*, p. 481-539, molto utile e interessante M. INTRIERI, *Βίαιος διδάσκαλος. Guerra e stasis a Corcira fra storia e storiografia*, Soveria Mannelli (Catanzaro) 2002. Fondamentali N. LORAUX, *Thucydide et la sédition dans les mots*, QS 23 (1986), p. 95-134, e *La cité divisée*, Paris 1997.

³² Da ultimo, L. SPINA, *Chiamare le cose col loro nome: a proposito di Tucidide III 82.4*, QS 49 (1999), p. 247-260.

che fossero messi a morte. Subito dopo però tale decisione era parsa ingiusta ed era stata riconvocata l'assemblea per riesaminare la questione, ciò anche su pressione degli ambasciatori dei Mitilenesi presenti in quel momento ad Atene.

Cleone, che era stato il fautore della punizione ora oggetto di ripensamento, interviene in assemblea, avendo proprio di mira i *logoi* con cui i Mitilenesi, e probabilmente anche alcuni Ateniesi, erano riusciti a convincere i magistrati a riaprire la discussione.

Dopo avere biasimato l'abilità retorica accompagnata da sfrenatezza, a vantaggio della imperizia purché accompagnata da moderazione, Cleone denuncia quanto è accaduto come *gara di intelligenza e di abilità oratoria*, nella quale gli Ateniesi, essendo pessimi giudici (ἀγῶνοθετοῦντες), hanno premiato, cioè giudicato nomico, il *logos* sbagliato³³.

La colpa è vostra, ché di queste gare voi siete cattivi giudici: siete infatti di solito spettatori dei discorsi, mentre i fatti li ascoltate quando li raccontano soltanto, ché esaminate gli avvenimenti futuri basandovi sulle critiche di chi, con belle parole, vi ha detto che sono possibili, mentre il passato, al contrario, lo esaminate basandovi sulle critiche di chi è bravo soltanto a parlare, senza considerare che l'accaduto, se ha testimonianza dei vostri occhi, è più degno di fede di ciò che voi possiate aver udito. Voi siete bravissimi a farvi ingannare dalla novità di un discorso, ma anche a non voler eseguire una deliberazione approvata, schiavi di ciò che è fuori dal comune, sprezzanti di ciò che è usuale, tutti quanti desiderosi soprattutto di essere bravi a parlare, o se no, pieni di emulazione verso chi parla bene, per non sembrare gli ultimi in fatto di intelligenza a seguirli e per dar l'idea, quando uno dice qualcosa di acuto, che voi siete pronti ad applaudirlo e pronti a capire in anticipo l'oggetto del discorso, ma lenti a prevederne le conseguenze. Ricercatori, per così dire, di qualcosa di diverso dal mondo in cui viviamo, incapaci di esaminare come si deve la situazione presente; insomma vinti dal piacere di quello che udite e simili a spettatori oziosi di sofisti piuttosto che a persone che si consultano sugli interessi della città³⁴.

Gli Ateniesi sono descritti da Cleone come «spettatori dei discorsi e ascoltatori dei fatti»: essi giudicano male, vinti dal piacere dell'ascolto. L'*hic et nunc* della *performance* oratoria riesce — secondo Cleone — a

³³ Cleone, come da tempo hanno riconosciuto gli studiosi, è personaggio centrale dell'impostazione storiografica del conflitto elaborata da Tuciddide. La valutazione del suo operato è molto meno netta di quanto possa apparire ad una prima lettura: A.G. WOODHEAD, *Thucydides' Portrait of Cleon*, *Mnemosyne* 13 (1960), p. 289-317.

³⁴ Thuc. III 38.4. La traduzione è di C. Moreschini rivista da F. Ferrari in Tuciddide, *la guerra del Peloponneso*, Milano 1985.

ricreare un contesto falsato in cui ciò che è impossibile sembra possibile e ciò che è accaduto sembra essere reversibile.

Il discorso di Cleone è strettamente collegato a quello, successivo, di Diodoto, il quale riafferma il valore del *logos*: i discorsi sono maestri dei fatti, non vi è altro mezzo infatti per indicare (φράσαι) ciò che sta per accadere ed è ancora oscuro; è possibile parlare in modo persuasivo anche di ciò che non è bello. Il buon cittadino, secondo Diodoto, non deve diffidare del *logos*, ma affrontare il rischio della competizione oratoria in condizioni di parità con gli altri, senza parlare πρὸς χάριν, per compiacere gli uditori al solo scopo di attirarsi la folla o ottenere onori maggiori.

La discussione, come già nella riflessione sulla *stasis* corcirese, verte dunque sulla possibilità che ha il *logos* di indicare (φράσαι) un oggetto in modo più o meno veritiero. Ma essa verte soprattutto sulla ricezione: Cleone come si è visto mette in luce i pericoli del *logos*: il *logos* può, attraverso la sua musicalità, irretire psicologicamente chi ascolta, renderlo schiavo, costringerlo a compiere delle azioni pericolose per lui³⁵. Il *logos* finge, suscita, evoca un contesto 'altro' e, suscitando emozioni che sono adeguate a quel contesto, allontana e distrae dal contesto reale, lo decentra (analogamente, la poesia come parola cantata alleggerisce la normalità del quotidiano, lo 'adorna'). Ma, come dice Diodoto, i fatti che non cadono sotto lo sguardo dell'interessato, quelli già accaduti o quelli previsti, possono essere 'visti' soltanto attraverso il *logos*.

Dall' *impasse* di un *logos* cattivo ed uno buono dunque non si esce. Neppure — mi sembra — è legittimo spostare l'oggetto della discussione intendendolo come contrasto fra *logoi* ed *erga*, che Tuciddide inviterebbe rispettivamente ad ascoltare e osservare, con preferenza, per quanto concerne l'approccio al fatto storico, alla coppia fatti-visione. Da un lato, infatti, gli *erga* in un contesto come quello della città antica sono visibili e udibili soltanto limitatamente e necessitano del *logos* che li diffonda; dall'altro il *logos*, per la sua possibilità di intervento diretto sulla realtà (penso al *logos* assembleare), è esso stesso *ergon*³⁶.

Il discrimine è invece il rapporto fra parlante e ascoltatore. Quest'ultimo giudica a partire dal comportamento del parlante: nella comunicazione orale chi ascolta viene catturato dalla teatralità e dalla postura dell'oratore; 'vede il discorso', in quanto reagisce empaticamente all'emozione che ritiene di riscontrare nel parlante, ma anche 'ascolta i fatti', in quanto

³⁵ Importanti riflessioni in A. COZZO, *Tra comunità e violenza. Conoscenza, logos e razionalità nella Grecia antica*, Roma 2001.

³⁶ Su *logos* ed *ergon* in Tuciddide, R. VATTUONE, *Logoi e storia in Tuciddide*, Bologna 1978.

rimuove il significato 'standard' della parola per ancorarsi invece all'emozione che l'ha prodotta e che dal 'fatto' deriva. Non si esce dall'*impasse* menzionata se non considerando la fonte dell'autorità cui attinge l'oratore quando pronuncia il suo *logos*.

Il conflitto riguarda quindi la questione della autorità della parola, la nomicità, ossia la decisione che alcuni parlanti prendono quando considerano che il comportamento di un parlante con cui condividono uno spazio comune è vettore di un'autorevolezza che egli può «esemplificare o possedere in virtù di un qualche legame intrattenuto con un soggetto Distale»³⁷. E' in discussione lo statuto del parlante, la possibilità di giudicare vero ciò che egli dice, costruendone socialmente il significato.

Abbiamo finora visto come i parlanti possano esplicitare tipi diversi di autorità. Pericle, che apertamente dichiarava di volersi porre empaticamente nei confronti dell'uditorio, riteneva di poter mostrare le prove e invocare il contesto come garante della autenticità della sua parola; altri parlanti rimandano all'autorità del codice omerico o a modelli mitici altrettanto normativi. Dopo l'esperienza della *stasis*, siamo per la prima volta di fronte ad una carenza di modelli di riferimento: i parlanti, ben lontani dall'esempio pericleo, sono ora assimilati a *sofisti* e/o ad *attori* in quanto forniscono, di una realtà di cui gli ascoltatori non hanno in parte percezione diretta, un'immagine falsa. Il fatto che *si comportino* come *attori* fa sì che gli ascoltatori li giudichino in base ad un criterio estetico, come se si trattasse di giudicare una rappresentazione teatrale, in cui conti la novità (καινότητος μὲν λόγου), l'originalità (τῶν αἰεὶ ἀτόπων), l'acutezza, l'intelligenza; il versante, potremmo dire, esteriore della comunicazione.

La visione passiva da parte dell'assemblea è dunque l'altra faccia della perdita di autorità degli oratori, che li induce alla spettacolarizzazione del *logos*. L'attore, sappiamo, è colui il cui comportamento linguistico è caratterizzato da una certa 'enfaticizzazione', cioè da comportamenti (postura, gesti) ostensivi finalizzati ad ottenere una certa ricezione; allo stesso modo il sofista mira a impressionare la folla. E' la folla, l'uditorio, l'insieme degli spettatori a decretarne il successo («assegnare il premio», dice Cleone): il consenso così ottenuto è un consenso maggioritario che non sarebbe possibile ottenere in altro modo: la conseguenza è che l'assemblea diventa una comunità che, sulle orme di Wittgenstein, La Matina ha definito 'fusionale'³⁸ e le cui caratteristiche diremo fra breve.

³⁷ M. LA MATINA, *o.c.* (n. 11), p. 270-274 e 389-401.

³⁸ M. LA MATINA, *o.c.* (n. 11).

Siamo ora in grado di comprendere il problema evidenziato da Tucidide in III 82.4: nella comunità 'scismatica' prodotta dalla *stasis* esiste il problema di comprendere se un individuo si stia comportando in modo corretto o scorretto rispetto ad un codice. Ma il codice non può far fronte alle situazioni nuove che l'insorgere della *stasis* generalizzata ha creato. Bisognerebbe dunque inventare nuove parole per nuove realtà: è quello che fa Pericle, senza con ciò opporsi o negare il valore del codice epico. L'alternativa è quella di interpretare il codice e di considerare vincolante l'interpretazione offerta dalla maggioranza, la *dikaiosis*, in cui è implicito un giudizio concernente il rapporto fra la parola e la cosa³⁹.

Nella comunità fusionale è nomica la *communis opinio* della maggioranza: l'accordo dei membri non si basa su circostanze oggettivabili, né sul riconoscimento di un criterio intrinseco di legiformità. La nomicità è affidata alla scelta della interpretazione maggioritaria. La comunità si attende di venire stupita, meravigliata, confusa. Siamo dunque in grado di intendere l'enfasi di Cleone sul 'vedere' nel senso di una contestazione: gli oratori compiono una serie di azioni *per essere visti* dagli Ateniesi in assemblea. Essi esibiscono una conoscenza dei fatti di cui stanno parlando ed una autorità che invece non hanno: i loro gesti non esemplificano nulla, semplicemente mentono⁴⁰.

Possiamo chiederci perché avvenga questo. Da comunità basata sulla nomicità del Codice, l'epos omerico, l'assemblea si comporta adesso come se fosse per l'appunto *priva* di un Codice. Come se l'autorevolezza del parlante fosse garantita dal porsi del *logos* contro tutto ciò che sembra ben attestato, normale. La novità, l'originalità prendono il posto dell'assennatezza anche rozza esaltata da Cleone.

Il punto nodale mi sembra la scomparsa del punto di riferimento che Pericle rappresentava, l'assenza dunque di un individuo capace di rendere *lawlike* il comportamento dei singoli: tale assenza lascia un vuoto che il Codice non può più riempire, essendo esso già stato destituito, dimenticato. Ciò che ne deriva è un vuoto totale in cui a trionfare è il gregarismo, il pervicace attaccamento a *idola novitatis*.

³⁹ Laddove in ἀξιώσις è implicita l'equivalenza, anche soltanto nominale (da cui il prezzo) fra la parola e la cosa: *axiosis* è il giusto rapporto di equivalenza nominale. *Dikaiosis* denuncia invece in tale rapporto un intervento esterno, che opera in base ad un giudizio. Su questi argomenti L. SPINA, *l.c.* (n. 32), con precedente bibliografia.

⁴⁰ Sulla spettacolarità del *logos* assembleare, L.E. ROSSI, *Lo spettacolo*, in *Definizione*, p. 751-794.

In che modo infatti gli oratori pretendono di giudicare i casi presenti? Tuciddide non dice nulla sul contenuto dei discorsi ‘incriminati’ o sugli oratori. Il cenno di Cleone all’originalità, ai sofisti porta a ritenere che essi si presentassero come interpreti o come critici della tradizione e del mito. Possiamo ipotizzare che nei loro discorsi vi fosse quel mutamento «dell’usuale valore delle parole in rapporto all’oggetto» notato in III 82.4, il dileggio della ‘previdente cautela’, della ‘moderazione’, della ‘prudenza’; sappiamo da Cleone che essi arrivano persino a minare la fiducia dei singoli nelle proprie facoltà di giudizio, precedentemente sperimentate, criticando il passato con ‘belle parole’ (dove ciò che viene proposto è anche, implicitamente, un giudizio negativo sull’operato di Pericle in circostanze analoghe).

Tale posizione ha però un peso morale ben diverso rispetto a quello di Pericle: quello che in Pericle era rispetto e riempimento della tradizione, in questi oratori-demagoghi è futile e snobistica iconoclastia, è atteggiamento esteriore privo di convinzione autentica. «Accade dunque — come afferma La Matina — ciò che è implicato da ogni tentativo debole di contestare la tradizione: la modifica esteriore o l’adattamento ne rendono manifesta l’incapacità». L’emendamento o l’interpretazione si presentano così come l’ultimo prodotto della legge stessa, di cui replicano l’astenia. La critica del mito, cioè della tradizione, degli oratori-sofisti produce così una visione altrettanto *mitica* del reale, che altro non è se non una diversa *interpretazione* (nel senso anche di *performance*) del mito.

Ma, se la descrizione e il giudizio che essi danno dei casi da deliberare è incurante delle funzioni veritative della lingua, anzi contraddice la verità, ciò che manca è pertanto un criterio davvero in grado di consentire la deliberazione: decidere quale comportamento adottare nei confronti dei ribelli Mitilenesi è dunque impossibile.

SCRIVERE I DISCORSI, CONOSCERE L’INTENZIONE

Se quanto finora osservato è plausibile, quale allora può essere definito come il modo corretto di ascoltare e vedere i ‘discorsi’? Il quesito non è ozioso, dal momento che è pertinente oltre che per il semplice cittadino, anche e soprattutto per il cittadino in quanto storico⁴¹.

⁴¹ Sui discorsi nelle opere storiografiche L. CANFORA, *Il fine della storiografia secondo Diodoro*, in ID., *La storiografia greca*, Milano 1999, p. 272 e ss. Sulla scrittura dei discorsi in Tuciddide, a partire da I 22.1, L. PORCIANI, *Come si scrivono i discorsi. Su Tuciddide I*

A conclusione della sezione de *La guerra del Peloponneso* comunemente denominata *archeologia* e finalizzata a provare la maggiore grandezza di questa guerra rispetto a tutte le altre guerre del passato, in I 22.1 Tucidide, a dimostrazione del fatto che la sua trascrizione non ha abbellito né ingrandito i fatti, illustra il modo in cui egli ha richiamato alla memoria (διαμνευμονῆσαι) l'argomento della trascrizione: riguardo alle cose dette pubblicamente, cioè ai discorsi, poiché era difficile ricordarle con precisione man mano che venivano pronunciate, egli espone la sua intenzione di dire conformemente a quanto *ciascuno a mio parere avrebbe potuto dire nel modo più adatto nelle diverse situazioni successive* e dunque di volersi mantenersi *il più vicino possibile alla γνώμη generale dei discorsi effettivamente pronunciati*⁴².

Su queste poche frasi si è esercitata l'acribia di molti filologi, ora a sostegno della 'oggettività' ora a quello della 'soggettività' dello storico ateniese. Molto dipende dal senso che si vuole dare alla parola *gnome*. *Gnome*, come risulta dall'imprescindibile *Vocabulaire* di Huart, è forse il sostantivo più adoperato da Tucidide⁴³. In contrapposizione a *orge* che implica la sfera della istintualità anche violenta, *gnome* è in correlazione con la visione chiara e razionale. *Gnome* è tuttavia uno stato dello spirito non astrattamente statico, in quanto orientato verso l'agire concreto: è per questo che esso può indicare sia il risultato concreto, la risoluzione pratica derivante da un processo cognitivo, sia in generale i 'sentimenti'⁴⁴. La valenza 'dinamica' di *gnome* affiora in tutta la sua complessità in un famosissimo testo medico che presenta una problematica per molti aspetti affine a quella di I 22.1. Mi riferisco al secondo capitolo dell'*Antica medicina* in cui si tratta del rapporto fra il medico e l'ammalato. L'autore sta affrontando il problema della verità del sapere medico: essa — argomenta — non ha sede esclusivamente nel sapere del medico, giacché le

22.1 ὅν ... μάλιστ' εἶπεῖν, QS 49 (1999), p. 103-135. Sempre utili i classici Ph.A. STADTER (a cura di), *The Speeches in Thucydides. A Collection of Original Studies with a Bibliography*, Chapel Hill 1973; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Particular and Universal in the Speeches of Thucydides*, in *Speeches of Thucydides*, p. 49-59; Virginia HUNTER, *Thucydides, the Artful Reporter*, Toronto 1973; D. PROCTOR, *The Experience of Thucydides*, Warminster 1980. L'ampiezza dello spazio dedicato da Tucidide ai discorsi è all'origine di una discussione che parte da Eforo e giunge a Polibio, Dionigi, Luciano. Su 'scrivere' in relazione alla scrittura della storia, N. LORAUX, *Thucydide n'est pas un collègue*, QS XII (1980), p. 55-81, e *Thucydide a écrit la guerre du Péloponnèse*, *Métis* 1 (1986), p. 139-161.

⁴² Thuc. I 22.

⁴³ P. HUART, *Le vocabulaire de l'analyse psychologique dans l'œuvre de Thucydide*, Paris 1968, p. 170 e ss.

⁴⁴ P. HUART, *o.c.*, p. 304. Per γνώμη come 'sentimenti', Thuc. VI 72.1 e 34.7.

cose che il medico ‘scopre’ riguardo alla malattia non sono ignote al malato, per il quale:

Si tratta di richiamare alla memoria, ascoltandoli, gli accidenti che gli sono occorsi. Se invece si trascura la facoltà di comprensione (γνώμη) dei profani, e non si mettono le persone che ascoltano in questa disposizione di spirito, non si potrà cogliere la realtà⁴⁵.

«La verità — commenta Jackie Pigeaud — non sta né dalla parte del medico né da quella dell’ammalato; essa è nel *riconoscimento* del vissuto come storia, nel senso moderno del termine. La verità si costituisce attraverso il *dialogo* fra l’ammalato e il medico»⁴⁶. Il rapporto fra medico e ammalato si presenta dunque come una situazione comunicativa in cui da un lato, l’ammalato sentendosi dire ciò che gli accade *riconosce* la propria storia, che prima era una semplice sequenza insignificante nella sofferenza, riportandola alla memoria; dall’altro, il medico apporta la propria tecnica rendendo quel racconto significativo e organizzato. Non andremo lontano dal vero affermando che medico e ammalato *costruiscono socialmente* un significato, a partire da una sofferenza inarticolata e un sapere vuoto. Di più, che tale costruzione è resa possibile dalla *gnome*. Secondo Pigeaud infatti: «La γνώμη di cui parla il testo (...) non consiste nella sua *comprensione*, come si intende talvolta, ma nella sua *funzione cognitiva*; cioè la possibilità di fare affiorare il vissuto alla coscienza. Occorre che nel discorso del medico egli riconosca, ricordandolo, questo o quel fatto vissuto (...) che, con ciò stesso, diventano significanti». Possiamo affermare che la *gnome*, implicando la necessità di un *riconoscimento* della parola altrui, di un rispecchiamento di sé nel discorso dell’altro, indica un processo che, in quanto tale, è circolare: ciascuno attende dalle parole dell’altro quel ‘significato’ che da solo non potrebbe raggiungere: «il medico — continua Pigeaud — da solo, è impotente». Essa è dunque l’apertura del discorso all’apporto dell’ascoltatore ed è la mobilitazione di tutti gli elementi che possono favorire tale apporto: è il riconoscimento reciproco⁴⁷.

E’ appena in caso di sottolineare che tale ascolto si trova al polo opposto rispetto a quello, passivo e penalizzante, prospettato commentando il

⁴⁵ La traduzione è quella di J. JOUANNA (a cura di), *L’Ancienne Médecine*, Paris 1990, p. 120, che trovo in J. PIGEAUD, *Il medico e la malattia*, in *Noi e i Greci*, p. 773, da cui traggio anche le osservazione che seguono relativamente al problema della verità del sapere medico.

⁴⁶ Corsivo mio.

⁴⁷ Su γιγνώσκειν come ri-conoscere, P. HUART, *o.c.* (n. 43), p. 304.

discorso di Cleone. Si tratta infatti di un ascolto attivo e costruttivo quale quello auspicato da Pericle, il quale nel *logos epitaphios* afferma di voler *corrispondere il più possibile al desiderio e al pensiero* dei suoi concittadini. Merita invece più attenzione il fatto che, in I 22.1 Tucidide usi *gnome* non a proposito della ricezione dei discorsi da parte dei cittadini/malati che in tal modo si riconoscerebbero nell'oratore, ma in relazione alla propria ricezione di quei discorsi. Lo 'scarto' rispetto all'*Antica medicina* non deve sfuggire: lì la costruzione del significato avviene immediatamente, nel dialogo (e il dialogo è anche il genere letterario in cui il sapere medico si esprime con l'*Antica medicina*); qui c'è una costruzione di significato che avviene a partire dalla relazione oratore/ascoltatore ed una, successiva, che avviene nella relazione storico/oratore/assemblea. Lo storico, in un tempo differito, costruisce il significato delle parole effettivamente pronunciate dagli oratori, a partire dalla capacità di costoro di fornire elementi utili al riconoscimento. Come il malato deve fornire al medico elementi utili all'attribuzione di significato, facendo affiorare il vissuto alla coscienza, così allo storico si presentano vissuti, sequenze, ricordi, evidenze che egli concatenerà in storia. Tale sapere, quello dello storico, ritorna poi al suo punto di partenza, giacché vi si può riconoscere, ricordando, colui che vuole 'veder chiaro'.

Occorre sottolineare, in I 22.1, l'importanza di ξύμπασα preposto a γνώμη: poichè significa che per costruire il significato di un discorso ascoltato è necessario tenere conto di *tutto* il processo, cognitivo e affettivo al tempo stesso, che ha fatto affiorare il vissuto del parlante. Importante, questo 'tutto', perchè contrapposto all'errore di coloro che colgono un solo aspetto, quello esteriore e spettacolare, del parlare degli oratori.

Il problema di Tucidide, possiamo ormai affermare, è (anche) quello di salvaguardare dall'oblio, o — peggio — dalla contestazione, la parola di Pericle⁴⁸, conservandola in un testo quanto più possibile completo, un testo che si presenta come amnestico, ma che per essere fissato è necessario editare su base computazionale⁴⁹. Si comprende dunque come Tucidide cerchi di limitare al minimo indispensabile la sua propria presenza nel testo, che egli concepisce come un'attività di 'edizione'.

⁴⁸ La 'rimozione' di Pericle è sottolineata da G. SCHEPENS, *Tucidide in controluce. 'La guerra del Peloponneso' nella storiografia greco del IV secolo a.C.*, in L. SANTI AMANTINI (ed.), *Vincitori e vinti: il dopoguerra nel mondo greco. Situazioni politiche, propaganda, interpretazioni storiografiche*, in c. di s.

⁴⁹ Su questi problemi, connessi con il rapporto fra memoria e scrittura, C. CASERTA, *o.c.* (n. 9). Inquadramento generale del problema della trasmissione culturale fra oralità e scrittura in W. RÖSLER, *Trasmissione culturale tra oralità e scrittura*, in *Definizione*, p. 707-724.

Ciò che rende difficile penetrare il senso dell'operazione tucididea è il fatto per noi il concetto di 'edizione' rimane inerente al rapporto fra testi; laddove esso — nel rapporto fra parlanti — può essere inteso in primo luogo come un processo in larga misura fondato sull'empatia⁵⁰. L'empatia è una famiglia di fenomeni che comprende al suo interno una gamma di reazioni all'Altro, che va dal contagio, cioè l'assunzione inconsapevole di atteggiamenti e posture altrui, all'evocazione, che riguarda invece lo stato emotivo dell'Altro esperito empaticamente dall'osservatore con o senza la mediazione del linguaggio, fino al *role-talking*, che consiste nell'immaginarsi nei panni dell'Altro. Queste reazioni sono 'trascrizioni' dei gesti, dei pensieri, delle emozioni dell'altro e creano uno 'spartito endosomatico'⁵¹.

Il concetto di 'spartito endosomatico' è di grande aiuto per comprendere tutti quei contesti in cui ci si pone come testimoni di un evento. Il testimone traduce in movimenti e stati tensivi del proprio corpo la reazione a forme, suoni, colori. Ma il concetto di testimone è ambivalente: esso evoca sia la partecipazione emotiva ad un evento, quale per esempio quella dei 'testimoni' di eventi traumatici, sia il desiderio di 'mettere agli atti', di documentare con esattezza un fenomeno o un avvenimento⁵².

Lo 'spartito' che La Matina definisce 'endosomatico' ha a che fare con l'organizzazione tensivo-muscolare del soggetto che empatizza. Il testimone ha a che fare con gli attriti fra endosomatico ed exosomatico, deve mediare fra le proprie esperienze emotive e reazioni empatiche ed una opposta esigenza di oggettivazione, sentita come necessaria per attingere una dimensione realmente comunitaria.

Nel caso complesso dell'ascolto di 'discorsi', il suono udito diventa dapprima una immagine acustica, cioè un mero formante sonoro privo di significato. Ma c'è poi il bisogno di classificare quel suono per capire di quale evento esso è indizio: tale carattere 'indiziario', tale possibilità del logos di rimandare ad 'altro' è — a mio avviso — ciò che Tucidide definisce *gnome*. E' ciò che si presta ad un 'riempimento' e consente una 'ricodifica' del formante. Questo secondo tipo di codificazione è un caso di risposta empatica: la cosa percepita diventa significativa solo quando può essere spiegata nei termini del gesto o della tensione di un'altra creatura, ricreato dall'io che lo sente risuonare in sé.

⁵⁰ M.C. LEVORATO, *Le emozioni della lettura*, Il Mulino Bologna 2000, citata da M. LA MATINA, o.c. (n. 11).

⁵¹ M. LA MATINA, o.c. (n. 11). La partecipazione emotiva di Tucidide alla guerra è messa in evidenza da A. PARRY, *Thucydides' Historical Perspective*, *YCLS* 22 (1972), p. 47-61.

⁵² Aleida ASSMANN, *Ricordare. Forme e mutamenti della memoria culturale*, Bologna 2002 [München 1999].

In questa ottica la *gnome*⁵³ dei discorsi, implicando l'interesse, la globalità (ξύμπασα) dei fattori — *endo* ed *exosomatici* — della comunicazione, serve a Tucidide da guida nella memorizzazione e da 'assicurazione' di una corretta, in quanto completa, trascrizione. Esplicitando il funzionamento di una memoria che non pretende di essere 'oggettiva' nel senso in cui lo è una moderna registrazione su supporto magnetico, Tucidide non toglie nulla al valore di testimonianza della sua opera⁵⁴. A patto, naturalmente, di accordarci sul valore del 'testimoniare' in ordine alle possibilità che esso ha di richiamarsi al valore probatorio dei 'fatti' e di costruirne socialmente il 'significato'.

CONCLUSIONI

Nella comunità giudaica del tempo di Gesù, come La Matina ha evidenziato, è il passato giudaico ad essere 'storicizzato', cioè considerato come segmento concluso e superato — o riempito o semantizzato — dal presente dell'annuncio evangelico. Nell'Atene periclea è l'*archeologia* ad essere ridotta a preparazione della *polis*. Ciò che è rilevante è il carattere peculiare del rapportarsi a questi 'periodi' considerati ormai conclusi. Non contestati o avversati, ma semplicemente defunzionalizzati, svuotati (ma anche «smontati» e frammentati in spezzoni di racconto): questo smemorarsi del passato senza tuttavia condannarlo ad un oblio definitivo, questo ricordarsene ad una certa distanza è — come afferma Aleida Assmann — una delle opzioni della memoria, la quale può contenere alcuni avvenimenti 'sullo sfondo' e altri 'in primo piano'⁵⁵. Nella memoria, se il passato periodizzato costituisce lo sfondo, l'evento testimoniato è il primo piano. Quest'ultimo — la guerra del Peloponneso per Tucidide — è quello in cui si è manifestata l'astenia del passato.

Ma astenia del passato e sua — coniamo questa parola — 'archeologizzazione' vuol dire anche crisi dell'Hellenikon, cioè di quella configurazione geopolitica che, nella sua formulazione erodotea si presentava come spartizione di sfere di influenza legittimata dal mito.

Cristiana CASERTA

⁵³ Per una discussione delle varie traduzioni di *gnome* in questo contesto, L. PORCIANI, *l.c.* (n. 41), p. 1999, che propone «successione di argomentazioni».

⁵⁴ L. PORCIANI, *l.c.*

⁵⁵ A. ASSMANN, *o.c.* (n. 52).

UN USAGE FORT CONTROVERSÉ: LA PARENTÉ DANS LE LANGAGE DIPLOMATIQUE DE L'ÉPOQUE HELLÉNISTIQUE*

Abstract: Dans la thèse qu'il a publiée (*Syngeneia. Epigraphisch-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie* [2000]), S. Lücke veut démontrer que le mot συγγένεια qui possède un sens fort dans les relations individuelles et signifie «parenté par le sang», n'a évidemment plus ce sens dans les relations entre États ni ne contient plus sa valeur forte. Il doit être pris la plupart du temps au sens figuré comme dans «l'étroite parenté de la beauté et de la mort». J'ai dressé un corpus systématique des inscriptions dans lesquelles figure cette notion pour qualifier les relations entre deux États et pense que le mot συγγένεια ne peut pas avoir ce sens figuré. Il n'a pas non plus un sens plus faible que dans les relations individuelles. Mon argumentation, dans cet article, se base surtout sur la définition du terme συγγένεια. Elle montre que, dans la plupart des cas, la valeur du terme ne peut pas être considérée comme différente de celle qu'elle a dans les relations individuelles. S. Lücke cependant n'est pas d'accord avec cette observation et refuse de voir un sens fort dans le mot συγγένεια.

INTRODUCTION

La notion de parenté mythique dans le langage diplomatique en Grèce ancienne, et plus particulièrement à l'époque hellénistique, a fait l'objet de ma thèse de doctorat¹. Commençons par définir la parenté mythique. Le terme sert à désigner un lien entre deux États remontant aux héros mythiques de chacun d'eux. Cette notion a par conséquent peu à voir avec la parenté personnelle, bien qu'elle en découle. Si, en effet, deux héros de l'époque mythique entretenaient entre eux un rapport de parenté, proche ou lointain, ce dernier rejaillissait tel quel sur les États de la période historique. De cette manière, si deux héros mythiques qui étaient

* Cet article était prêt pour être publié en 2002 déjà. Pour des raisons indépendantes de ma volonté, il n'a pas pu l'être alors. Je prie par conséquent les lecteurs de m'en excuser. Je veux remercier chaleureusement M. Piérart qui a lu cet article et m'a suggéré de nombreuses corrections.

¹ O. CURTY, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques. Catalogue raisonné des inscriptions contenant le terme συγγένεια et analyse critique*, Genève 1995 [abrégé ci-après en *PLG*].

frères fondaient chacun une cité, celles-ci gardaient ce lien et pouvaient se dire sœurs, même beaucoup plus tard. On peut parler dans un tel cas de parenté qui remonte à l'époque mythique ou simplement de parenté mythique. Toujours selon ce principe, si deux héros mythiques qui n'étaient 'que' cousins fondaient chacun une cité, celles-ci, de la même manière que les précédentes, gardaient ce lien.

Toutefois, il faut relever une simplification dans les termes. À part, en effet, celui de frère ou de sœur, aucun titre ne reflétait exactement le rapport de parenté qui unissait les deux héros de l'époque mythique; deux cités apparentées se contentaient de se dire «parentes», συγγενεῖς, quelle qu'ait été leur parenté. Si l'on reprend l'exemple précédent, où chacune des deux cités avait été fondée par des héros qui étaient cousins, les deux cités ne se disaient pas 'cousines' mais simplement 'parentes' sans plus de précision².

L'article récent de D. Musti³ confirme le changement de titre que je propose pour ma thèse⁴. Pour lui, en effet, les parentés ne sont point exclusivement légendaires, mais trouvent leur enracinement dans un contexte plus large. Ce contexte, que j'appelle mythique, peut englober aussi bien cette période que celle plus récente que nous appelons historique. Dans l'Antiquité, la différence que nous faisons entre période mythique et historique était dénuée de tout sens car ces deux périodes alors n'en formaient qu'une. C'est pourquoi D. Musti l'appelle, non comme moi simplement mythique, mais plus précisément «mitistorico». Il ne se contente pas, comme je l'ai fait, de rechercher le fondement de

² Je profite de ce que l'on définisse les termes pour corriger un point. Comme il s'agissait de héros mythiques dont les anciens Grecs croyaient à l'existence, l'adjectif 'légendaire' que j'ai employé dans le titre de ma thèse pour qualifier ces parentés ne convient guère car il implique toute une part d'invention et de fabuleux que ne possèdent pas ces parentés. Cependant le terme 'mythique' dont je me sers maintenant, recèle, lui aussi, un désavantage: il circonscrit l'origine des parentés à une période donnée. Or, il arrive parfois que la parenté entre deux cités ne remonte pas à l'époque mythique, mais ait un fondement plus tardif qui ne date que de la période historique; par exemple, deux cités fondées par une métropole identique sont aussi parentes: elles sont filles d'une mère commune comme l'indique le nom même de 'métropole'. Je suis conscient que le traitement de ces parentés n'est pas le même que les précédentes et que le terme 'mythique' est lui-même source d'ambiguïté; je change cependant d'opinion par rapport au titre de ma thèse et opte pour lui au détriment de l'adjectif 'légendaire'.

³ D. MUSTI, *La "syngeneia" e la "oikeiotes" sinonimi o nuances?*, dans M.G. BERTINELLI – L. PICCIRILLI (éd.), *Linguaggio e terminologia diplomatica dall'antico oriente all'impero bizantino* (Atti del convegno Nazionale, Genova 19 novembre 1998), Rome 2001, p. 44-63.

⁴ Cf. n. 2.

ces parentés dans la période mytho-historique, mais il fait beaucoup plus. Il cherche avec érudition à établir les raisons historiques pour lesquelles les cités ont éprouvé le besoin de se lier par la parenté. Nous nous rejoignons sur un point. Lui et moi ne croyons pas que les parentés puissent être attribuées de manière artificielle⁵.

Par là, on voit que la notion de parenté est fort controversée et est loin de faire l'unanimité⁶. D'une part, elle a été analysée récemment par un auteur qui aboutit à des conclusions proches des miennes et conforte ainsi ma position⁷. D'autre part, elle a suscité une attaque due à S. Lücke⁸. Ce dernier s'est occupé du sujet que j'avais traité quelques années plus tôt et il arrive à des conclusions opposées tout en critiquant les miennes. Pour moi, je demeure fermement convaincu de la justesse de mes positions et vais analyser ci-après plus longuement les principes de base de S. Lücke. Qu'il suffise pour l'instant de dire que pour lui la notion de parenté mythique exprimée par le mot *συγγένεια* en grec⁹ et apparaissant la plupart du temps dans les inscriptions de manière allusive, ne se traduit pas systématiquement par «parenté»¹⁰. En ce qui me concerne, le mot *συγγένεια* exprime non seulement la 'parenté' mais aussi une nuance forte; le terme se traduit donc comme «parenté par le sang». Cela implique à l'évidence des conséquences dans son attribution. Toutefois pour S. Lücke la notion est, dans la plupart des cas, vide de sens¹¹ ou,

⁵ Cf. p. ex. p. 49 de l'article de D. MUSTI.

⁶ J'ai répondu à certaines critiques qui m'avaient été adressées par J.M. HALL, *CR* n.s. 47 (1997), p. 96-98; Ed. WILL, *Syngeneia, oikeiotès, philia*, *RPh* 1995 [paru en 1997], p. 299-325; A. GIOVANNINI, *Les relations de parenté entre cités grecques. A propos d'un livre récent*, *MH* 54 (1997), p. 158-162. Voir mon article, *La parenté légendaire à l'époque hellénistique. Précisions méthodologiques*, *Kernos* 12 (1999), p. 167-194. Pour des citations ou des comptes rendus plus favorables, voir p. ex. S. HORNBLLOWER (dir.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1997³, s.v. 'Kinship'; Ch.P. JONES, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*, Cambridge (MA) – Londres 1999, p. 153 n. 4; *Bull. Epigr.* 109 (1996), n° 6 (Ph. Gauthier).

⁷ Ch.P. JONES, *op. cit.* (n. 6), qui analyse dans son bon livre la plupart des cas connus, étudie chronologiquement le phénomène et montre que la parenté entre États repose sur les mêmes présupposés que j'ai analysés.

⁸ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia. Epigraphisch-historische Studien zu einem Phänomen der antiken griechischen Diplomatie*, Francfort sur le Main 2000 (abrégé ci-après en *Syngeneia*).

⁹ Voir plus bas, p. 106-107, la définition du terme *συγγένεια*.

¹⁰ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 12: «Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, zunächst zu ergründen, welche Bedeutung der Terminus *συγγένεια* in den Dokumenten des zwischenstaatlichen Verkehrs im Einzelfall besass».

¹¹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119-120: «Neben diesen beiden Möglichkeiten ist schliesslich noch damit zu rechnen, dass in dem einen oder anderen Dokument die Verwendung von *syngeneia* im Rahmen einer inhaltsleeren Formel erfolgte».

pour mieux dire, utilisée avec un sens figuré¹². Sue Elwyn¹³ et moi avons tenté d'analyser les conditions à remplir par une cité pour se voir attribuer le titre de 'parenté par le sang'. Selon S. Lücke, nous partirions de fausses prémisses en affirmant que l'octroi du titre de 'parent' répond à des critères précis. En effet, pour lui, ce critère est totalement faux¹⁴. Il est dès lors ridicule et inutile de rechercher les liens familiaux hypothétiquement à l'origine de l'octroi du titre de 'parent'¹⁵. Devant de telles affirmations, il me semble nécessaire d'expliquer à nouveau mes principes.

¹² S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 12: «Soweit ich sehe, hat bislang niemand mit der Möglichkeiten gerechnet, dass es sich im Einzelfall auch um Verwandtschaft im übertragenen Sinn handeln könnte. Dass mit dieser Möglichkeit gerechnet werden muss, zeigt schon die Tatsache, dass der Terminus συγγένεια in den literarischen Quellen auf Bereiche angewendet wird, in denen eine Blutsverwandtschaft im ursprünglichen Sinn des Wortes gar nicht möglich ist». C'est pourquoi il ajoute, toujours dans le même sens, *Syngeneia*, p. 16: «Um so mehr überrascht die Bedeutung Curtys, dass der antike solche Verwandtschaften im übertragenen Sinn fremd gewesen sein sollen». À propos de la longue inscription entre Xanthos et Kyténion de Doride (*PLG*, p. 183-191), que j'ai interprétée comme une inscription pleine de nuances à propos de la parenté, S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119: «Hier [= le décret en l'honneur des Kyténiens] liegt es näher, mit dem sonstigen Sprachgebrauch des Griechischen zu operieren und Begriff im übertragenen Sinn zu verstehen».

¹³ Sue ELWYN propose une analyse proche de la mienne (*The Use of Kinship Terminology in Hellenistic Diplomatic Documents: An Epigraphical Study*, Ann Arbor 1992). S. LÜCKE (*Syngeneia*, p. 18 n. 10) me fait grief de ne pas citer cet ouvrage. Cependant, il n'était pas accessible à l'époque de la publication de ma thèse. Aujourd'hui encore, cet ouvrage n'est disponible que sur microfiches, je n'ai pas pu le consulter. Mais on peut connaître la méthode de S. Elwyn en lisant l'article qu'elle a publié (*Interstate Kinship and Roman Foreign Policy*, *TAPhA* 123, 1993, p. 261-286). Certes, il s'agit de la parenté dans la diplomatie romaine, mais la méthode qui est à l'œuvre est sûrement identique à la grecque. S. Elwyn montre que dans le cas romain, la notion de parenté, utilisée par les diplomates, doit impérativement toujours être justifiée. On peut facilement élargir ses conclusions au monde grec.

¹⁴ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119, cf. ci-dessus n. 12 à la fin.

¹⁵ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 12: «Ausgehend davon hat sich ein Teil der moderner Forschung mit der Frage beschäftigt, über welche genealogische Verknüpfung zwei Gemeinwesen miteinander blutsverwandt waren, von denen in einem Dokument des zwischenstaatlichen Verkehrs behauptet wurde, sie seien συγγενεῖς». Il convient de replacer ce passage dans le contexte d'où il est tiré. S. Lücke rejette cette possibilité et croit trouver la solution dans le sens figuré que revêtirait le terme συγγένεια. C'est ainsi qu'il interprète de nombreuses parentés, dont celle qui existe entre Lampsaque et Rome (cf. argument 2), ou celle de la parenté entre Téos et les Crétois (cf. *PLG* n° 43, p. 89-106). C'est pourquoi il écrit, p. 23: «Angesichts dieser — zugegebenermassen hypothetischen, gleichwohl jedoch recht wahrscheinlichen — Gegebenheiten die Frage zu stellen, von welchem Heros die συγγένεια zwischen Teiern und Kretern hergeleitet wurde und ob es sich um individuelle Verwandtschaften zwischen den einzelnen kretischen Poleis und den Teiern oder um eine globale Verwandtschaft zwischen Kretern und Teiern handelte, erscheint nahezu absurd».

Cela est important sous peine d'en arriver à une querelle purement technique qui risquerait de lasser la majorité des lecteurs¹⁶.

Mon unique erreur — je le reconnais d'autant plus volontiers que j'avais peu d'expérience — a été de croire naïvement que les présupposés au sujet de la parenté entre États étaient unanimement admis et qu'ils ne prêtaient pas à discussion. Comme je me suis trompé! C'est pourquoi j'ai analysé les arguments de manière technique et n'ai pas pris la peine de les développer de façon explicite. Ce choix explique, me semble-t-il, le scepticisme rencontré. La plupart de ceux qui se sont intéressés au sujet ont en effet des idées très arrêtées et des *a priori* sur la notion de parenté entre États¹⁷. C'est pourquoi, les idées sur les parentés mythiques varient. Selon son tempérament et son degré plus ou moins grand de scrupule religieux, chacun pense détenir la vérité. On peut dire en d'autres mots que l'idée que se fait chacun des parentés mythiques, sujet qui touche aux croyances personnelles, est proportionnel à ses convictions sur la rationalité historique¹⁸. Malgré tout, il ne saurait être question de reprendre

¹⁶ En plus de son analyse, S. Lücke entend donner, dans son *Introduction*, une leçon de méthode. Selon lui, je serais resté confiné à la terminologie tandis que lui-même, dépassant cet aspect de façade, aurait analysé les phénomènes qui se trouvent derrière les termes. Ainsi écrit-il, *Syngeneia*, p. 12: «Es seien an dieser Stelle einige methodologische Anmerkungen gestattet. [...] Wirkliche historische Erkenntnis ist jedoch nicht bei einer oberflächlichen Behandlung der Terminologie zu erreichen, sondern sie kann nur dann erzielt werden, wenn man nach den Phänomenen fragt, die sich *hinter* den Termini verbergen» (je mets en évidence). Ce qui me surprend, c'est l'opinion selon laquelle les phénomènes constituent la réalité en soi ou le monde de l'Être. En fait, ce n'est que la tentative faite par l'historien de replacer ces phénomènes dans leur contexte, différent pour chaque époque, qui lui permet de dresser un tableau historique. C'était l'illusion de l'école historique que l'on a coutume d'appeler 'positiviste' et qui était représentée en France par Ch.-V. Langlois et Ch. Seignobos, que de croire qu'un sujet traité à une époque l'était définitivement. Ces deux savants ne pensaient pas que chaque période marquait de sa propre idéologie le sujet en question. Pour éviter cet inconvénient, chaque époque doit de nouveau traiter les sujets qui l'ont pourtant déjà été. Les sujets seront analysés ainsi d'une manière nouvelle, avec un regard correspondant aux préoccupations du moment. C'est pourquoi la réalité en soi qui serait quelque chose d'intangible n'existe pas en histoire. Ce sont là des lieux communs qu'il m'est pourtant apparu nécessaire de répéter.

¹⁷ Ainsi A. GIOVANNINI (*art. cit.* [n. 6], p. 162) pense-t-il que les parentés entre Grecs eux-mêmes sont le plus souvent réelles et que celles entre Grecs et non Grecs sont nécessairement légendaires. Toujours sur la base d'idées préconçues, Ed. WILL, *art. cit.* (n. 6), p. 312-317, veut à tout prix voir une différence de sens entre les termes συγγένεια et οἰκειότης.

¹⁸ J'ai démontré ailleurs (*art. cit.* [n. 6], p. 167-168) le peu d'importance que prêtait au phénomène un esprit rationaliste alors qu'au contraire quelqu'un de scrupuleux y attachait une grande valeur. C'est cette différence de sensibilité à l'argumentation basée sur la parenté mythique que l'on retrouve entre M. Holleaux ou Ed. Will d'une part et L. Robert d'autre part.

tous mes arguments et de les démontrer un par un. En revanche, j'ai une ambition plus raisonnable: expliquer au moyen de trois arguments (définition, utilisation et création de la συγγένεια) ce qui m'a amené aux conclusions que je persiste à croire fondées et justes.

ARGUMENT 1: DÉFINITION DU MOT ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ

Chaque fois que se rencontrait une inscription avec le terme συγγένεια qu'on traduit de manière générale par «parenté»¹⁹, faisant référence à une parenté entre deux peuples ou deux régions mais en aucun cas entre deux personnes, je l'ai retenue. J'ai ainsi constitué un corpus des inscriptions contenant le mot συγγένεια composé de 135 textes. Dans ce corpus, on voit que la parenté se manifeste sous une forme particulièrement simple et brève²⁰. Par exemple, on la trouve exprimée ainsi: ἐπειδὴ Τήιοι φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς διὰ προγόνων ἢ ὑπάρχοντες²¹... Ce passage peut se traduire de cette manière: «attendu que les Téiens sont nos²² amis et nos parents ancestraux...» La thèse que j'ai démontrée dans mon ouvrage est que le mot συγγένεια *ne pouvait pas* être attribué de manière arbitraire. Au contraire, il indiquait toujours un lien de parenté à l'origine de son octroi. Avant toute chose, je préciserai sa signification par rapport au mot οἰκειότης, 'son synonyme'. Tandis que συγγένεια signifie par définition «ce qui appartient au même *genos*»²³, οἰκειότης, lui, étymologiquement, vient d'οἶκος, «la maison». Confronté à συγγένεια, il possède alors une nuance différente. Là aussi j'ai montré dans ma thèse²⁴ le sens fort que possède συγγένεια par étymologie. Il se traduit en conséquence par «parenté par le sang». En revanche, οἰκειότης met en évidence non pas une parenté de sang mais simplement un lien sans consanguinité. C'est pourquoi il se traduit normalement par «parenté par alliance» quand il sert à exprimer un lien de parenté. Ces précisions permettent de marquer la différence entre les deux termes et de voir le degré moindre d'οἰκειότης

¹⁹ Ou son adjectif συγγενής, «parent»: je ne préciserai pas chaque fois qu'il s'agit de l'un ou l'autre mot. Mes conclusions valent naturellement pour l'un comme pour l'autre des mots ainsi que pour leurs dérivés.

²⁰ Il s'agit là de l'écrasante majorité des cas du corpus qui ne sont pas explicités.

²¹ *Inscr. Creticae* II xii 21 [n° 43f PLG].

²² Ce sont les habitants de la cité crétoise d'Eleutherne qui parlent.

²³ P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, s.v. γίγνομαι, p. 222.

²⁴ O. CURTY, *PLG*, p. 224 et 241.

par rapport à συγγένεια. Ce trait avait déjà été remarqué par L. Robert²⁵. Nous aboutissons, lui et moi, aux mêmes conclusions: συγγένεια et οἰκειότης ont un sens distinct. Comme lui, cependant, j'ai montré qu'il arrivait aux deux termes d'être synonymes²⁶.

J'en viens maintenant au mot συγγένεια seul et au fait que le titre de parent pouvait uniquement être octroyé si des critères précis étaient remplis. C'est ce que conteste S. Lücke²⁷. Pour défendre mon point de vue,

²⁵ L. ROBERT, *Hellenica* I, p. 58: «J'ai donc pensé à suppléer ici un terme de parenté, moins étroit que συγγενής: [οἰκεί]ας.»

²⁶ L. ROBERT, *Op. Min. Sel.* I, p. 100 n. 5 (= *BCH* 52, 1928, p. 171 n. 5): «En général, dans les décrets hellénistiques, les deux mots συγγενεῖς et οἰκεῖοι ont un sens distinct. Quelquefois cependant, ils sont équivalents.» Cf. O. CURTY, *PLG*, p. 231-234 (différence de sens entre les deux termes), p. 230-231 et p. 138 (synonymie des deux termes). Je peux ainsi revendiquer L. Robert dans mon camp. Je sais bien que cette présence ne m'accorde en aucun cas la certitude d'avoir raison pas plus que son absence ne donne à S. Lücke celle d'avoir tort, du moins sa position est-elle fragilisée.

²⁷ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 87: «Die Propagierung von realen oder fiktiven Abstammungen und Verwandtschaften diente in der griechischen Welt durch alle Zeiten hindurch auch dem Zweck, entweder das Prestige von Gemeinden oder Herrschern zu steigern oder — dies betrifft vor allem Polisgemeinden — Identität zu stiften. [...] Aus unterschiedlichen Motiven heraus propagierten die kleinasiatischen Gemeinden "verwandtschaftliche" Beziehungen zu den renommierten Gemeinden des Mutterlandes, allen voran zu Athen, Sparta und Argos. Für die kleinasiatischen Gemeinden, die auch nach heutiger Auffassung als "griechisch" gelten dürfen, so vor allem die ionischen Gemeinden an der Westküste Kleinasien, mag es in dieser Situation vor allem darum gegangen sein, ihren Weg in den griechischen Kosmos zurückfinden und zu dokumentieren, dass sie ursprünglich dazu gehört hatten, vorübergehend ausgeschlossen waren und nunmehr wieder zurückkehrten». La première phrase de S. Lücke prétend que le but des parentés fut de renforcer le prestige de communautés éloignées du cœur de l'Hellade et que celles-là étaient accordées sans aucun critère précis: il suffisait alors qu'une cité ressente le besoin d'être parente d'une cité grecque pour que cette parenté lui fût octroyée. Le problème est de trouver une preuve à cette attitude. Au contraire, dans la position que je défends, il est possible à chaque fois de reconnaître un lien fort à l'origine de la parenté. L'exemple de Tégée et de Pergame le montrera bien. D'autre part, il me semble que dans ce passage, S. Lücke confond deux concepts pourtant bien distincts. Le premier est le désir des communautés grecques, loin de leur pays d'origine, de se voir reconnues comme telles et de rechercher une ascendance hellène, peu importe le nom de la métropole du moment qu'elle appartînt au monde grec. Le second date de l'Empire romain. A ce moment-là une autre attitude naquit: celle d'appartenir non plus au monde grec en général, mais à certaines cités prestigieuses de l'Hellade. Parmi ces dernières on peut citer Athènes, Argos ou Sparte. C'était l'époque de ce que L. Robert a appelé les «belles parentés», cf. L. ROBERT, *Op. Min. Sel.* VI, p. 211-249 (= *HSPH* 1977, p. 1-39), ainsi que celle d'un courant 'panhellénique', cf. Ch.P. JONES, *The Panhellenion*, *Chiron* 26 (1996), p. 29-56. À cette époque, D. MUSTI, *art. cit.* (n. 3), p. 49, parle du caractère artificiel des parentés en ce sens que les liens qui justifient la parenté sont de plus en plus ténus. Quant à moi, D. Musti a bien vu (p. 48) que je ne parlais ni du caractère artificiel des parentés, ni de leur 'dilatation'. Les parentés deviennent autre chose. Ce n'est plus tant la parenté avec une cité grecque qui compte que celle avec une cité grecque prestigieuse (cf. ci-dessous). J'écrivais ainsi dans ma thèse (p. 262-263): «À la fin de l'époque hellénistique et au

je me servirai de l'exemple fourni par la parenté attestée entre les cités de Tégée en Arcadie et de Pergame en Asie Mineure.

On trouve aux l. 17-19 d'une inscription de Pergame²⁸ la mention d'une parenté entre cette dernière et Tégée: [Ἴνα δὲ τὰ ἐν] | τοῖς προὔπαρχουσιν [ὑπ]ομνήμ[α]σι περὶ τῆς συγ[γ]ενεί[ας] ἡμῶν | [πρὸς] Τ[εγε]-ά[τα]ς... que l'on peut traduire ainsi: «afin que ce qui se trouve dans les documents relatifs à notre parenté avec les Tégéates...». L'inscription traite des bons rapports entre les cités de Tégée et de Pergame. Cependant ceux-ci ne suffisent pas à justifier le titre de 'parent'²⁹. Aucun indice dans l'époque historique ne corroborait la parenté entre les deux cités. Or, si l'on suit mon raisonnement, il fallait que ces liens fussent justifiés. L'octroi par Pergame de la parenté à Tégée devait par conséquent reposer sur des critères précis à rechercher dans une époque antérieure à la période historique, c'est-à-dire à l'époque mythique. À cette époque justement, Augè, fille du roi de Tégée, après avoir subi les assauts d'Héraclès, mit au monde un enfant du nom de Télèphe. Ce dernier, après bien des vicissitudes, devint roi de Pergame³⁰. On a vu que ces liens de parenté rejaillissaient sur la cité et ses habitants de l'époque historique. On peut par conséquent en déduire que ce mythe était à l'origine de la parenté entre les deux cités. Est-on en droit de généraliser le propos et d'affirmer que chaque occurrence du mot συγγένεια, même si elle n'est pas explicitée, recouvre bien une parenté mythique? Dans ma thèse, j'ai répondu

cours de l'époque impériale, la notion de parenté se modifia. Les cités n'y voyaient plus la communauté d'intérêt, ni les devoirs qu'elle impliquait, mais l'utilisait pour se rattacher à des cités prestigieuses. Cela leur permettait de se construire une histoire mythique et de s'attribuer comme fondateurs des héros glorieux. Dans le contexte de la seconde sophistique et du «retour au passé», et avec la création du Panhellénion, les parentés sont, en quelque sorte, réactualisées. Elles ne servent plus à établir des relations horizontales entre cités égales, appartenant à la même race, mais plutôt à marquer des relations verticales, c'est-à-dire la filiation dans laquelle s'inscrit une cité qui cherche à prouver son hellénisme». Le cas d'Alabanda est particulièrement révélateur de ce changement dans la notion de parenté. À la fin du III^e s. a.C. cette cité se déclarait parente des Grecs en général (n° 13 de mon corpus; *Fouille Delphes* III 4, 163). Environ un siècle plus tard, la cité affichait sa parenté avec celle de Carystos (n° 31 de mon corpus; *IG* XII 9, 4). Au III^e s. p.C., la cité développait des liens étroits avec Sparte (cf. les références p. 259-260 de ma thèse). Enfin, D. Musti a raison de déplorer le fait que son article n'ait pas été suffisamment mis en exergue car il y a plus de quarante ans qu'il avait déjà posé le problème dans un cadre qu'aucun des autres savants n'a dépassé.

²⁸ *Inscr. Pergamon* I 156.

²⁹ O. CURTY, *PLG*, p. 215-216.

³⁰ D'ailleurs, à l'époque historique, les souverains de cette cité faisaient remonter leur origine à Héraclès grâce à Télèphe, cf. L. ROBERT, *Op. Min. Sel.* VI, p. 457-468 (= *RPh* 1984, p. 7-18).

par l'affirmative à cette question en montrant pour chaque attestation de ce mot le lien soit mythologique, soit historique, qui le justifiait. S. Lücke s'oppose à cette interprétation³¹. Pour lui, le mot en lui-même n'a que très peu d'importance³²; il en a même si peu qu'il en vient à n'être plus qu'une formule stéréotypée³³. Ainsi pour S. Lücke serait-il usuel que *syngeneia* ne signifie qu'un rapport quelconque. En revanche, ce ne serait qu'occasionnellement qu'il signifierait 'parenté par le sang' comme pourtant je le traduis habituellement.

S. Lücke entend donner à ce mot un sens figuré³⁴. À l'appui de son raisonnement, il cite trois passages, ceux d'Aristote³⁵, de Lucien³⁶ et de Zosimos de Panopolis³⁷. Ces textes dans lesquels *συγγένεια* signifie

³¹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119: «Demnach kann *syngeneia* Verwandtschaften aller Art bezeichnen, nicht nur Bluts-Verwandtschaften. Es ist von daher verfehlt, in jedem Fall ein reales oder auch nur ein fiktives blutsverwandtschaftliches Verhältnis zwischen zwei Gemeinden zu vermuten, die in einem offiziellen Dokument sich als *συγγενεῖς* bezeichnen». Cependant, S. Lücke avait malgré tout reconnu quelques lignes plus haut: «[...] was nicht ausschliesst, dass *syngeneia* im Einzelfall sehr wohl die Bedeutung «Blutsverwandtschaft» gehabt haben kann».

³² S. Lücke, *Syngeneia*, p. 26-27: «Im Gegensatz zu den Positionen vor allem Curtys und Elwys gehe ich davon aus, dass der Terminus *syngeneia* weder grundsätzlich Blutsverwandtschaft bezeichnet, noch der Ursprung dieser Blutverwandtschaft stets im Bereich des Mythos zu suchen ist».

³³ S. Lücke voit la notion de parenté comme une formule stéréotypée, vide de sens. Il la retrouve par exemple dans les décrets en l'honneur des juges étrangers. Ainsi écrit-il, *Syngeneia*, p. 120: «Einen Eindruck vom stereotypen Charakter der Verwendung vermittelt recht gut die Zusammenstellung der entsprechenden Formulierungen in den Dankesdekreten für die Entsendung von Richtern». Pour lui, la *συγγένεια* est attribuée sans critères précis, de la même manière qu'une autre notion banale pour notre sujet, la *φιλία* (cf. O. CURTY, *PLG*, p. 215-216). On utilise la notion de parenté quand le besoin s'en fait sentir; par exemple quand une cité demande à une autre l'envoi de juges ou quand deux voisines ont besoin d'arbitres. La notion de parenté deviendrait alors purement utilitariste. C'est pourquoi S. Lücke écrit p. 73: «Nicht nur zur Schlichtung innergemeindlicher Streitigkeiten, sondern auch zur Vermittlung bei "internationalen" Konflikten traten Schiedsrichter in Aktion, die gelegentlich aus Gemeinden kamen, die mit einer oder besser noch mit beiden streitenden Parteien eine Form von "Verwandtschaft" behaupten konnten». Toute ma thèse tend à démontrer qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une forme de parenté mais bien d'une parenté. De plus, il faut relever que S. Lücke commet la confusion fréquente entre les juges qui viennent d'une cité dans une autre pour régler les procès pendants *entre concitoyens* et les arbitres internationaux, venus d'une tierce cité mais pour arbitrer un différend frontalier *entre deux cités* voisines. La même confusion se répète à la p. 76. Ce type d'erreur a été dénoncé à plusieurs reprises par J. et L. ROBERT, notamment *Bull. Epigr.* 1973, n° 240 et 241. Sur les juges étrangers, cf. pour une vue d'ensemble L. ROBERT, *Op. Min. Sel.* V, p. 137-154 (= *Xenion, Festschrift für Pan. I. Zepos*, p. 765-782).

³⁴ Cf. ci-dessus n. 12.

³⁵ Aristote, *Hist. An.* 539a22.

³⁶ Lucien, *Herc.* 5.

³⁷ Zosimos de Panopolis, III 28.10 [*non vidi*].

seulement « ressemblance », voire « communauté » mais non plus « parenté » et en tout cas pas « parenté par le sang » prouveraient à l'évidence, selon S. Lücke, le sens faible du terme συγγένεια³⁸. En outre, ce phénomène se retrouve aujourd'hui dans certaines langues modernes. Si la langue française, en effet, parle bien de villes 'jumelles', l'allemand, en revanche, se borne à utiliser le terme de villes 'Partner', sans allusion à une quelconque parenté³⁹. Le raisonnement de S. Lücke ne tient pas. Tout d'abord, on constate que le sens figuré est fréquemment utilisé. Il se rencontre dans toutes les langues et par exemple en français. Il n'y a qu'à citer la phrase « l'étroite parenté de la beauté et de la mort »⁴⁰. Il n'est nul besoin de rechercher des auteurs rares et précieux pour expliquer cette tendance. S. Lücke, d'ailleurs, en est bien conscient⁴¹. Mais si indéniablement dans les trois exemples cités par S. Lücke le mot συγγένεια a le sens figuré de 'ressemblance', le nombre de trois est manifestement trop petit face à la quantité d'exemples où συγγένεια revêt son sens propre pour emporter l'adhésion. Il est de mauvaise méthode de postuler que le sens figuré du mot συγγένεια doit être retenu dans le langage diplomatique, alors que les exemples sur lesquels s'appuie S. Lücke, ne sont qu'au nombre de trois. En outre, les auteurs chez lesquels ils se trouvent sont peu pertinents pour notre propos. La première citation est tirée d'un ouvrage que j'oserais qualifier de 'biologie' écrit par un philosophe. La deuxième provient d'un auteur connu pour son sens de l'ironie. Quant à la troisième, il s'agit d'un passage chez un auteur tardif. Un autre argument peut être invoqué pour prouver le sens propre et non figuré du mot συγγένεια dans le langage diplomatique. On peut en effet citer un décret honorifique rendu par une cité de Crète, Priansos⁴² pour Hérodotos et Ménéclès,

³⁸ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119: « Diese Behauptung [= croire que le sens de συγγένεια n'est que 'parenté par le sang'] ist in Anbetracht der Wortbedeutung in den literarischen Quellen sehr unwahrscheinlich ».

³⁹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 16: « All dies [= cas contemporains de parenté développés dans ma thèse et cités par S. Lücke] sind schöne Beispiele, doch während das Französische die sich zusammenschliessenden Gemeinden als "Zwillinge" (« jumelles ») bezeichnet und sich somit eines Terminus aus dem Bereich der Blutsverwandtschaft bedient, spricht das Deutsche hier von Städte "partnern", verzichtet also auf Verwandtschaftsterminologie ».

⁴⁰ J.-P. SARTRE, *Situations II* (éd. Gallimard), Paris 1948, p. 173.

⁴¹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 16: « Das Phänomen ist hinreichend bekannt, und bei einigem Nachdenken fällt einem eine Vielzahl ähnlicher Fälle ein, ja es scheint nahezu ein Naturgesetz der Funktionsweise des menschlichen Verstandes zu sein, hinter Ähnlichkeiten welcher Art auch immer Verwandtschaften zu vermuten oder sich wenigstens der entsprechenden Terminologie zu bedienen, um die Ähnlichkeiten zu verdeutlichen ».

⁴² *Inscr. Creticae* I XXIV 1 et A. CHANIOTIS, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften*, Stuttgart 1988, p. 348-349.

deux ambassadeurs de Téos envoyés dans l'île vers 160 a.C. Là, Ménéclès présenta un résumé de l'histoire mythologique des dieux et des héros crétois à partir d'œuvres poétiques et historiographiques. L'anecdote exposée permet d'affirmer que le terme *syngeneia* doit être pris dans son sens propre. En effet, la matière dans laquelle puisaient les diplomates était constituée de récits mythologiques où les parentés *au sens propre* jouaient un grand rôle. Ainsi ne pouvait-il être question d'utiliser dans ces cas des liens mythologiques au sens figuré. Il fallait absolument que les liens de parenté entre les différents héros fussent concrets pour être valablement utilisés. Par conséquent, traduire dans ces récits le terme *syngeneia* par son sens figuré, constitue une lourde erreur.

Cette production fait penser inévitablement à celle qui a été bien exposée par A. Chaniotis⁴³ et concernant des ambassadeurs de Mylasa, en Crète également. Ces exemples montrent bien la diplomatie antique entièrement basée sur la mythologie et la *syngeneia* au sens de 'parenté' qui y joua un grand rôle; ce serait méconnaître gravement l'histoire dans l'Antiquité que d'ignorer cette dimension et de prendre *syngeneia* au sens figuré. Pour les Anciens, la mythologie était de l'histoire qui avait été certes enjolivée par les poètes, mais néanmoins réelle⁴⁴. C'est un lieu commun que de le répéter et les exemples cités montrent à l'évidence la mythologie comme un répertoire bien vivant de récits dans lequel on pouvait puiser à l'infini⁴⁵.

⁴³ A. CHANIOTIS, *ZPE* 71 (1988), p. 154-156.

⁴⁴ C'est de l'histoire potentielle selon la belle formule de M. Piérart.

⁴⁵ On ne peut pas faire grief à S. Lücke d'ignorer cet aspect, *Syngeneia*, p. 120: «*Syngeneia* wird in den Dokumenten des zwischenstaatlichen Verkehrs manchmal explizit, zumeist jedoch implizit als Argument beziehungsweise Begründung für wechselseitiges Wohlverhalten angeführt». Mais il insiste surtout sur l'effet que devaient provoquer les agissements des diplomates et ne met guère l'accent sur les preuves et les documents dont ils se servaient. Il prétend: «Das Kalkül dieser Gesandten war sicherlich sehr stark auf die Emotionen ihrer Gastgeber ausgerichtet». Je veux bien. Seulement, les documents où la parenté est développée de manière explicite montrent qu'il s'agit d'un argument largement utilisé par les diplomates. Par conséquent, on peut se servir de ces documents où la parenté est discutée en détails pour expliquer ceux où la parenté est exprimée de manière beaucoup plus concise. En revanche, il me semble de mauvaise méthode de refuser d'expliquer les documents moins explicites par ceux qui le sont le plus. Et c'est une mauvaise déduction que d'interpréter comme des exceptions («Einzelfälle») les documents où la parenté est longuement décrite et analysée. Au contraire, ces derniers doivent servir à expliciter les documents où la parenté est mentionnée sans plus. Poussée à l'extrême, la logique de S. Lücke aboutit à une impasse. En effet, tout ce qui est explicite ressortit, selon lui, au cas particulier. Cela empêcherait par conséquent de comprendre et d'expliquer toute allusion. Or, l'Antiquité a des sources en grande partie allusives. En fonction de ce que je viens de démontrer, je me demande ce qu'il faut faire de ces sources peu

ARGUMENT 2: UTILISATION DIPLOMATIQUE DE LA NOTION DE ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ

Un second argument, celui qui est utilisé par la cité de Lampsaque⁴⁶, est avancé par S. Lücke pour étayer son raisonnement. Cette cité se déclarait parente des Romains en utilisant pour cela le mot συγγένεια. Elle n'hésitait pas à y avoir recours parce qu'elle était membre de la Confédération troyenne dans laquelle se trouvait également la cité d'Ilion. Or, cette dernière était parente des Romains. Par conséquent Lampsaque s'autorisait du lien qui existait entre Rome et Ilion pour s'attribuer à son tour une parenté avec Rome. Selon S. Lücke, ce serait précisément ce comportement qui prouverait indéniablement le caractère artificiel de la συγγένεια⁴⁷.

À mon avis, l'exemple de la cité de Lampsaque prouve au contraire la qualité non artificielle de la notion de la συγγένεια. C'est uniquement parce que la cité d'Ilion parente de Rome était membre de la Confédération troyenne, comme la cité de Lampsaque, que cette dernière pouvait se donner le titre de 'parente' de Rome. Lampsaque ne s'arrogeait pas arbitrairement un tel titre, mais elle le justifiait par des critères que l'on peut certes trouver complètement artificiels de nos jours, mais auxquels les Anciens croyaient fermement. Or, S. Lücke prétend le contraire: il pense que les Anciens utilisaient la notion de parenté au sens figuré. Mais cela semble improbable car la cité de Lampsaque déclarait officiellement que la parenté entre Rome et elle remontait à⁴⁸ ... (la pierre est brisée justement à cet endroit). On voit ainsi que la συγγένεια était justifiée même si on ne peut restituer le nom manquant. Cela renforce encore une fois le terme συγγένεια dans son sens propre et non figuré.

ARGUMENT 3: FABRICATION D'UNE ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ

Enfin, S. Lücke prend l'exemple de la cité de Priène⁴⁹ en Asie Mineure refondée au IV^e s. a.C., pour montrer le caractère purement arbitraire et artificiel de la συγγένεια. La cité de Priène, comme ses voisines, faisait

explicites, s'il est de mauvaise méthode de les expliquer les unes en fonction des autres, plus claires.

⁴⁶ *Syll*³ 591 [PLG n° 39].

⁴⁷ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 17: «Es [= la parenté entre Lampsaque et Rome] läge somit ein Fall vor, in dem zur Bezeichnung einer Verbundenheit, die nicht aus echter Blutsverwandtschaft resultierte, Verwandtschaftsterminologie verwendet wurde».

⁴⁸ *Syll*³ 591 [PLG n° 39], l. 24-25: διά τε [τὴν ὕ][πάρχουσιν] ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συγγένεια, ἦν καὶ ΑΠΟ[- -].

⁴⁹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 97-101.

remonter son origine à la colonisation ionienne que le marbre de Paros plaçait au XI^e s. *a.C.*⁵⁰ Mais, dans la seconde partie du Ve s. *a.C.*, la cité cessa d'exister pour une raison que nous ignorons⁵¹. Elle fut refondée dans la seconde moitié du IV^e s. *a.C.*⁵². Ses colons d'alors, d'origine diverse, venaient de régions que nous ne connaissons pas⁵³. Il fallait par conséquent que Priène trouvât un moyen pour les unir et cimenter son identité⁵⁴. S. Lücke pense que, pour ce faire, la jeune cité de Priène se serait délibérément créé tout un passé. Ainsi se serait-elle inventé des mythes de fondation. Toujours selon lui, ces mythes l'auraient rattachée à Athènes, cité qui faisait l'unanimité parmi ses colons⁵⁵; c'est pourquoi Priène aurait cherché à avoir des points communs avec Athènes⁵⁶. Les

⁵⁰ Sur la date de la migration ionienne, différente pour chaque auteur ancien selon les calculs qu'il utilise, cf. M.B. SAKELLARIOU, *La migration grecque en Ionie*, Athènes 1958, p. 307-324. Sur le débat des modernes relatif à la même question, cf. F. PRINZ, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie*, Munich 1979, p. 314-317. D'autre part, la volonté de se rattacher à la Grèce continentale est un phénomène bien connu pour les cités d'Ionie. Ce trait a été mis en lumière, entre autres, par F. PRINZ, *ibid.*, p. 2.

⁵¹ Cf. G. KLEINER, art. *Priene*, *RE*, Suppl. IX (1962), col. 1186, ainsi que C.V. CROWTHER, *I. Priene 8 and the History of Priene in the Early Hellenistic Period*, *Chiron* 26 (1996), p. 195-250. Bien que ce dernier article propose une nouvelle chronologie des premières inscriptions de Priène, différente de la traditionnelle fixée par F. Hiller von Gaertringen, il n'a aucune incidence sur l'histoire mythique de la cité. Malgré ces articles et ces recherches, il est très difficile de déterminer ce qu'il advint de l'ancienne cité. Tout au plus voit-on Samos et Milet se battre à son sujet, cf. Thucydide I 115.2. Pour Th. LENSCHAU, *De rebus Priensium*, *LSKPh* XII-XIII, 1890 (réimprimé Hildesheim-New York 1972), p. 163-164, cette indication montrerait que Priène était à cette époque soumise à Milet. Cf. pour une même vision, E. WILL, *Le monde grec et l'Orient*, I, Paris 1972², p. 283, et R. MEIGGS, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford 1973², p. 428.

⁵² Nous le savons avec certitude par différentes preuves, dont la plus évidente est la dédicace qui se trouve sur le temple d'Athéna Polias faite par Alexandre le Grand. Sur le temple, cf. C.V. CROWTHER, *art. cit.* (réf. n. 51), p. 199 n. 16 (contient la bibliographie afférente). Il donne avec sûreté un *terminus post quem* que l'on peut placer en 334 *a.C.*

⁵³ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 97: «Wir wissen leider nicht, woher die Bürger stammten, die dort angesiedelt wurden».

⁵⁴ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 97: «Man kann jedoch davon ausgehen, dass es von grosser Bedeutung gewesen ist, möglichst rasch eine kollektive Identität der Neuankömmlinge zu schaffen, um den dauerhaften Bestand der Polis zu garantieren».

⁵⁵ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 97: «Genau dies [= l'identité collective de la cité] aber konnte durch die Förderung des Bewusstseins, von einer der — nach Ansicht der Griechen — ältesten und renommiertesten Gemeinden des Mutterlandes abzustammen, erreicht werden». (c'est naturellement Athènes qu'il faut comprendre). Il ajoute, p. 99: «Unter diesen Voraussetzungen ist es sicher nicht von Nachteil gewesen, auf eine enge Beziehung zu den Athenern, der angeblichen Muttergemeinde aller Ioner, verweisen zu können».

⁵⁶ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 100: «In ihrem Wunsch, die Verwandtschaft mit den Athenern unter Beweis zu stellen, gingen die Priener sogar so weit, ihre in den offiziellen Urkunden verwendete Sprache so weit wie möglich von typisch ionischen Elementen zu befreien und sie auf diese Weise dem Attischen anzunähern».

deux cités se seraient rattachées l'une à l'autre d'une manière très simple: il aurait suffi que l'histoire officielle fût venue d'Athènes les premiers colons de Priène⁵⁷. En outre, on peut relever une mention qui, de prime abord, semble inexplicable: l'histoire officielle mentionne également des colons de Priène venant de Béotie⁵⁸. On s'est demandé la raison d'une telle origine. S. Lücke, toujours dans l'optique d'une origine artificielle qui justifie le présent, la met en rapport avec le Panionion. Ce dernier, comme son nom l'indique, était le sanctuaire fédéral des cités grecques de Ionie. On y vénérât Poséidon Helikonios. Des chercheurs modernes ont expliqué l'adjectif Helikonios par le rapport étroit qu'entretenait Poséidon avec l'Hélikon, montagne sacrée de Béotie, tandis que les Anciens⁵⁹, eux, faisaient dériver le nom de la cité d'Hélikè⁶⁰. Selon S. Lücke, cette manière de procéder, c'est-à-dire la manipulation systématique des mythes ainsi que des parentés qui en découlent, prouverait le caractère très relatif et peu fiable de la συγγένεια.

⁵⁷ Il y a contradiction entre deux passages de la thèse de S. Lücke à propos de la précision accordée à la parenté athénienne. D'un côté, il prétend (*Syngeneia*, p. 99): «Für solche Fälle ist es sicherlich von grossem Nutzen gewesen, auf innige Beziehungen zu den Athenern verweisen zu können. Die Inschrift im Gymnasion von Priene konfrontierte die Jugend der Gemeinde von Anfang an mit dieser angeblichen Verwandtschaft und wappnete sie gewissermassen für künftige Auseinandersetzungen mit Rivalen». Si je comprends bien ce passage, S. Lücke semble dire que la jeunesse de Priène devait tenir prêts ses arguments pour défendre son origine athénienne, car elle était souvent prise à parti. Mais d'un autre côté, lui-même écrit, p. 101: «Es ist sehr zweifelhaft, ob der antike Rezipient der Information, die Priener seien Verwandte der Athener, die Frage gestellt hat, auf welche Weise oder über welche genealogische Verknüpfung dies der Fall war». Par cette phrase, S. Lücke semble souligner le fait que la parenté pouvait être attribuée sans critères précis. Il prétend qu'elle revêtait une faible valeur entre Priène et Athènes, vu que l'homme antique ne se serait pas demandé l'origine d'un tel lien.

⁵⁸ Pausanias VII 2.10.

⁵⁹ *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 'Kypri', et surtout Strabon VIII 7.2, 384C.

⁶⁰ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 99-100: «Demnach bestand auch eine "Verwandtschaft" zwischen Prienern und Thebanern beziehungsweise Böotern. Wieso aber diese Abstammung? Ich glaube, dass die Antwort auf diese Frage im Zusammenhang mit dem Panionion steht. Die dort verehrte Gottheit ist Poseidon Helikonios gewesen. Strabon zufolge stammte dieser Kult ursprünglich aus des an der Nordküste der Peloponnes gelegenen Ionergemeinde Helike, die unschwer als Namensgeber des Kultnamens "Helikonios" zu erkennen ist. "Helikonios" lässt sich jedoch noch von einem anderen geographischen Namen herleiten. "Helikon" ist der Name des berühmten, in Bötien gelegenen Berges, der traditionell als Sitz der Musen betrachtet wurde, von dem jedoch bereits der homerische Hymnos an Poseidon zu berichten weiss...». Selon F. PRINZ, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 343-345, toutefois, les Anciens avaient raison: "Hélikonios" se laisserait bien dériver du nom de la cité d'Hélikè. Cette cité a disparu par engloutissement au IV^e s., mais les parentés que l'on tirait d'elle ont subsisté. Pour F. Prinz, la mention de la cité d'Hélikè serait due à la volonté des Grecs d'Achaïe de se rattacher aux Ioniens.

L'exemple de la cité de Priène montre certes l'utilisation de parentés nouées avec Athènes et la Béotie. Ces parentés sont pour S. Lücke complètement artificielles, vu qu'elles sont sciemment créées *ex nihilo*. Pour lui, Priène aurait aussi bien pu se rattacher à une autre cité telle Milet ou Ephèse⁶¹. Il en va cependant autrement. En réalité, la nouvelle cité a agi ainsi par fidélité à son ancienne métropole et non par opportunisme comme voudrait le faire croire S. Lücke. Plusieurs indices prouvent que l'ancienne Priène était déjà rattachée à Athènes. Premièrement, il y a le fait que Priène conserva son nom, ce qui montre que la nouvelle Priène tenait à s'inscrire dans la tradition de l'ancienne cité. On peut en conclure que la nouvelle cité dut également reprendre les mythes de son aînée. Deuxièmement, un autre témoignage de la proximité des relations entre Priène et Athènes peut être trouvé dans ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler les listes de tributs attiques⁶². Ces listes existent depuis 454 *a.C.* Or, de cette date à 443 *a.C.*, Priène apparaît régulièrement en payant la somme de 100 drachmes⁶³. Après cette date, elle n'apparaît plus de manière certaine⁶⁴. Tant qu'elle figura dans les listes, Priène s'acquitta régulièrement et scrupuleusement de son tribut. Il est par conséquent permis de conclure que cette régularité et ces scrupules témoignent de la fidélité de Priène envers Athènes⁶⁵. Ce sentiment de loyauté devait probablement se refléter dans les mythes de l'ancienne Priène. Or, la nouvelle cité du IV^e s. *a.C.* est également proche d'Athènes. On peut ainsi conclure que les mythes

⁶¹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 97: «Man kann davon ausgehen, dass die Priener es nicht versäumt haben werden, diese angebliche Abstammung von den Athenern einer nach Möglichkeit grossen Anzahl von Zeitgenossen, namentlich den unmittelbar konkurrierenden Gemeinden — man könnte an Milet oder Ephesos denken — zur Kenntnis zu bringen». M. Piérart m'a signalé en passant que Milet ne figurait pas dans le Catalogue des vaisseaux de l'Iliade. Or cette absence de Milet constitue un obstacle dirimant qui l'exclut de toute histoire mythique assez ancienne. Il ne pouvait en effet être question pour une cité grecque de rattacher ses mythes de fondation à une cité qui ne figurait pas dans le Catalogue des vaisseaux, seule preuve de son ancienneté.

⁶² Je remercie chaleureusement Bjørn Paarmann, chercheur sur les listes de tributs attiques, de m'avoir guidé dans le dédale de l'épigraphie athénienne du V^e s. *a.C.*

⁶³ Comme les sommes gravées représentent le montant versé par les alliés en prémisses à Athènes (c'était le 1/60^{ème} de leur tribut), un calcul rapide et simple permet de connaître le montant du tribut de Priène: il est de 100 drachmes X 60 = 6000 drachmes = 1 talent.

⁶⁴ L'absence de Priène dans les listes de tributs constitue une preuve supplémentaire de sa disparition en tant que cité au milieu du V^e s. *a.C.*

⁶⁵ Ce sentiment de loyauté envers Athènes est encore renforcé par les traditions de la migration ionienne qui donnent une origine athénienne à la plupart des fondateurs de cités (Strabon XIV 1.3, 632-633C. Cf. à ce sujet: F. PRINZ, *op. cit.* [n. 50], p. 320-321). C'est ainsi que Nélée, le fondateur de Priène, est un descendant de Codros, roi d'Athènes. Cf. à ce sujet: F. PRINZ, *ibid.*, p. 323.

qui mentionnent ces rapports étroits, existaient déjà du temps de l'ancienne Priène et que la nouvelle cité n'aurait fait que de les reprendre à son compte. Pour l'origine béotienne, il en va sûrement là aussi de même. Il est fort probable en effet que la nouvelle cité de Priène dut reprendre à son compte les tentatives qu'avait faites l'ancienne cité pour administrer le Panionion: on l'a vu dire que ses premiers colons venaient de Béotie. De cette manière, elle se réservait la haute main sur l'administration du sanctuaire.

Cette théorie est certes moins frappante que celle de S. Lücke mais plus prudente. On peut ainsi supposer que Priène n'a pas bouleversé ses traditions et ses mythes, mais au contraire que la nouvelle cité s'est pour ainsi dire glissée dans le moule de l'ancienne.

D'une manière générale on relève une contradiction dans les positions de S. Lücke. D'un côté, il prétend que la συγγένεια ne possède pas un sens propre mais seulement un sens figuré qui n'a pas de signification forte d'un point de vue mythologique⁶⁶. De l'autre, il croit à la valeur des mythes pour les diplomates⁶⁷. Il me semble que la contradiction naît de l'a priori selon lequel la parenté mythique ou συγγένεια n'exprimerait aucun rapport particulier. Si comme S. Lücke le prétend, la συγγένεια n'exprime généralement pas le concept de 'parenté par le sang', comment alors est-il possible de souligner l'importance des mythes? Ces derniers en effet sont des récits qui mettent en scène toute sorte de héros réellement apparentés entre eux. De deux choses l'une: ou les parentés ne sont pas prises au sens propre mais figuré et n'ont alors pas d'importance d'un point de vue mythologique. Alors, les mythes qui reposent sur les généalogies et les parentés des héros n'en ont pas non plus. Ou bien, comme le reconnaît S. Lücke, les mythes constituent pour la diplomatie antique une mine inépuisable. Dans ce cas, les parentés entre les héros qui sont attachés à ces mythes, doivent être prises au sens propre et non figuré⁶⁸. On ne peut pas à la fois soutenir d'une part le peu d'importance

⁶⁶ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 119: «Diese Behauptung [= croire que le sens de συγγένεια n'est que 'parenté par le sang'] ist in Anbetracht der Wortbedeutung in den literarischen Quellen sehr unwahrscheinlich».

⁶⁷ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 120: «Gerade der Mythos stellte hier [= dans les prestations des diplomates] eine schier unerschöpfliche Quelle dar, zumal er weder formal noch inhaltlich irgendeine Verbindlichkeit besass und sich auf diese Weise besonders für die Konstruktion fiktiver "Gemeinsamkeiten" eignete».

⁶⁸ J'ai démontré dans un article (*Les parentés entre cités chez Polybe, Strabon, Plutarque et Pausanias*, dans V. FROMENTIN – S. GOTTELAND [éd.], *Origines Gentium*, Bordeaux 2001, p. 49-56), qu'on retrouve exactement la même différence de sens entre συγγένεια et οἰκειότης chez les auteurs susnommés.

des parentés et d'autre part celle essentielle des mythes. Les unes ne vont pas sans les autres.

Une dernière remarque m'inquiète; c'est celle qui clôt le chapitre final de S. Lücke intitulé «Zusammenfassung und Ereignisse» où il écrit⁶⁹: «Ein weiteres Moment, das das Denken in den Kategorien der Verwandtschaft gefördert haben dürfte, ist in dem Wunsch "barbarischer" Gemeinwesen, die durch die Eroberungen Alexanders in den Einflussbereich der griechischen Kultur geraten waren, zu sehen, von den neuen Herren als ihresgleichen akzeptiert zu werden. Die Konstruktion von *fiktiven* Verwandtschaften spielte dabei sicherlich eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle» (je mets en évidence). Je me garderai de surinterpréter le texte et de faire ainsi un procès d'intention, mais je suis obligé de constater qu'une telle formulation est pour le moins ambiguë! On pourrait croire en effet que seules les parentés avec les communautés 'barbares' étaient fictives alors que j'espère avoir montré, dans ma thèse et mes réponses, que toutes les parentés, construites à partir de généalogies mythiques, étaient bien fictives et n'avaient de réalité que parce que les Anciens les tenaient pour vraies.

Olivier CURTY

⁶⁹ S. LÜCKE, *Syngeneia*, p. 122.

A LETTER FROM ZENON TO KLEON

A NEW DATE FOR *P. ZEN. PESTM. SUPPL. B**

Abstract: The present article offers a new reading for *P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. B*, a papyrus text in which Zenon complains to Kleon about uninundated land. The date given in the text appears to have been a double date, though only partially preserved. The new dating fits the chronology of the Zenon archive better.

P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. B is a letter from Zenon to Kleon, the chief engineer of the irrigation works in the Arsinoite nome, from the mid-third century BC. Like the other texts in the Kleon archive, it was extracted from mummy cartonnage found at Gurob by W.F.M. Petrie in 1899¹. The text was first published in 1891 by R.P. Mahaffy as *P. Petrie* II 13 (11). In 1928 C.C. Edgar² had the papyrus detached from its old mount and discovered that it consisted of three fragments which had been stuck together — either accidentally or mistakenly — in such a way that the ends overlapped. Edgar realized that the lacunae in the middle of the lines had to be wider than Mahaffy had supposed, giving room to supply ἐ[ν τῇ διώρυγι] on line 1. Both the versions of the text published by Mahaffy and that of Edgar raise problems when it comes to the interpretation and dating. A revision of the original in the *British Library* (London) in the course of a study of the Kleon archive brought up the opportunity to reconsider the text thoroughly³.

Recto⁴:

1. Ζήνων Κλέωνι χαίρειν. Τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐ[ν τῇ διώρυγι οὐκ ἀνα]βέ-
βη[κ]εν πλείω ἢ [πῆ]χυν,

* I thank W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe for their useful suggestions.

¹ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, London 1891; for the excavations at Gurob, see chapter IV, p. 15-21; chapter VII, p. 28-29, and chapter IX, p. 34-47 for a summary of the Greek papyri (by Prof. Sayce).

² C.C. EDGAR, *Three Ptolemaic Papyri*, in *JEA* 14 (1928), p. 288-293; this papyrus is no.1 in Edgar's article.

³ A re-edition of the Petrie-papyri has been planned at Leuven since the late 1960s; see E. VAN 'T DACK, *On a Re-Edition of the Petrie Papyri*, in *AncSoc* 3 (1972), p. 135-147. This has resulted thus far in the publication of the wills by Prof. W. Clarysse (*P. Petrie*² I = *The Petrie Papyri. Second Edition* 1, *The Wills*, ed. W. Clarysse. Brussels 1991, as vol. 2 in the series *Collectanea Hellenistica*).

⁴ For the reader's convenience, the text as published by Edgar is given here, while a version with the new reading will be found at the end of this article.

2. ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ποτίζε[σθαι τὴν γῆν. Καλῶς ἂν οἴῃν
 π[ο]ήσαις ἀνοίξας
 3. τὰς θύρας, ἵνα ποτίζεται ἡ γῆ.
 4. Ἐρ[ρωσο. L] κη, Μεσορῆ κγ.

Verso:

L κη, Μεσορῆ κδ.
ων.....υδ...
 ...[

Κλέωνι

The text on the *recto*, though not entirely preserved, is easily understood and Edgar's supplements are fairly certain. On l. 4, immediately following the lacuna, Mahaffy and Edgar had read κη, or year 28. The date Mesore 23 of the 28th year — which equals October 14, 258 BC — is odd, however; in 258 BC Zenon had not yet been appointed manager of Apollonios' estate near Philadelphieia, so one does not expect a letter concerning the estate's irrigation by him⁵. Uebel⁶ too was puzzled by this date, albeit for a more technical reason: in year 28 Zenon invariably used the Macedonian calendar in dating his letters or dockets. There seemed to be no obvious reason why he would make an exception for this letter.

The editors of *P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. B* put this anomaly down to a journey that Zenon made in 258 and which brought him near Philadelphieia by the end of October. Zenon was indeed at or near the estate at the time this letter was sent; this does not explain, however, why he wrote on a matter that was the responsibility of the estate manager, a function held by Panakestor at that time. As a matter of fact, one year later Panakestor did write a very similar letter on irrigation problems at the estate, dated Mesore 21 of year 29 (*P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. C*).

An inspection of the original, however, revealed that both Mahaffy and Edgar had failed to read the correct date: the first number after the lacuna is not κη (28), but clearly κγ (23). Unfortunately, this only worsens the chronological problem; Zenon was not yet appointed manager in 258 BC (= year 28), and in 263 BC (= year 23) he had not even met Apollonios to start with. We need to dig somewhat further into Zenon's dating formulas to clear up this difficulty.

⁵ We can assume that Zenon, as a Greek who was closely connected to the Macedonian court in Alexandria, used the Macedonian year (called 'regnal year' by Edgar).

⁶ F. UEBEL, *Die drei Jahreszahlweisen in den Zenonpapyri*, in *Proceedings of the XIVth International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford, 24-31 July 1974* (Egypt Exploration Society, *Graeco-Roman Memoirs*, 61), London 1975, p. 313-323; see p. 317 n. 22.

If 23 cannot have been the year, we should consider the possibility of a 'double date'. Zenon, and especially his superior Apollonios, sometimes used a combination of the Macedonian and the Egyptian calendars to date letters⁷. Theoretically both the Macedonian and the Egyptian dates should be correct dates, yet often the equations do not match, resulting in a 'fictitious' double date.

Two systems seem to have been used to make up a fictitious date, the easiest one being the so-called 'direct equation': one takes the correct month and day in one calendar, the current month according to the other calendar but with the same day as in the first calendar, regardless of the actual day in the second calendar. Many of the double dates in dockets of the Zenon archive follow this system.

A second type of fictitious double date is also arbitrary but uses a less obvious system to construct a fake date, based on addition and subtraction. In the Zenon dockets, this method is invariably based on a (correct) Egyptian date; if this date falls within the first 20 days of the month, 10 days are added to the Egyptian day to produce the day for the current Macedonian month. Thus one may end up with a double date like Dios 11 = Thoth 1. For the last 10 days of the Egyptian month, 20 days are subtracted to produce the Macedonian day (e.g. Apellaios 1 = Thoth 21). The difference in calculations when the Egyptian date is in the range of 1-20 or 20-30 is due to the fact that a new Macedonian month always begins on the 21st of an Egyptian month⁸.

Hence, a date could take several forms; below are some possibilities that may be used for October 3, 256 BC:

- 1. Loios 16: date according to the Macedonian calendar;
- 2. Loios 16 = Mesore 13: double date, both dates are correct;
- 3. Loios 16 = Mesore 16: direct equation, based on the Macedonian calendar, the Egyptian date is fictitious;
- 4. Loios 13 = Mesore 13: direct equation, based on the Egyptian calendar; the Macedonian date is fictitious;
- 5. Loios 23 = Mesore 13: double date, based on the Egyptian calendar; the Macedonian date is obtained by simply adding 10 days to the Egyptian date;
- 6. Mesore 13: date according to the Egyptian calendar.

⁷ See e.g. A. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (*Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 43), München 1962, p. 35-37; F. UEBEL, *op. cit.*; P.W. PESTMAN, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (*P.L. Bat.*, 21), Leiden 1981: chapter VIII (p. 215-268) deals entirely with dating problems.

⁸ See A.E. SAMUEL, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

If we return to the fragmentary date on our papyrus, the first number after the lacuna may well have been the day, rather than the year; indeed the lacuna offers enough space to fill in the remainder of the word ἔρρωσο, the abbreviation for ἔτους and another month. As a matter of fact, it is strange that Edgar, who realized that the lacunae had to be much wider, did supply more text for lines 1 and 2, but failed to do so for the lacuna in line 4. Could a direct equation double date offer a solution to the chronological issues that the text has raised so far? While Edgar's reading could at least offer a year — albeit an erroneous one — we are now left without a year and a month for the Macedonian date. The other double dates in the Zenon archive, though, reveal some interesting key features. There are not that many letters among the Zenon documents that were written by — or in the name of — Zenon himself, but we can add to them the dates in the dockets of letters sent to Zenon. Quite a few of these dockets have survived, especially from the earlier years of his career as manager for Apollonios⁹.

First of all, Zenon did not write double dates until well in year 29 of Ptolemy II Philadelphus; the earliest one is a docket dated Audnaïos 4 = Choiak 4 (January 27, 256 BC)¹⁰. Before this date, Zenon simply used the Macedonian calendar, which does not come as a surprise, since he was at that time still residing in Alexandria¹¹. In late December 257 or early January 256, Zenon moved to Philadelphēia, where he was appointed estate manager somewhere between April 25 and May 10 of 256 BC. It is on that occasion, apparently, that Zenon (and his clerks) started adding a date according to the Egyptian calendar.

During year 30 Zenon and his clerks continue to use double dates in their dockets¹²; contrary to those of the previous year, though, no real correspondence is established and only the Egyptian date is correct. The

⁹ A list of all double dates and a survey of how Zenon dated his letters in general can be found in P.W. PESTMAN, *op. cit.*; the relevant years are discussed on p. 224-231. A list of the double dates in years 29-31 is given below, in appendix.

¹⁰ Contrary to what one might think, this double date is actually correct for both the Macedonian and the Egyptian date; it is not a fictitious double date of the direct equation type. All seven double dates of year 29 have the same day for both the Macedonian and the Egyptian month, and this is in fact correct for the three earliest dates; Zenon and his clerks seem to have adopted this procedure as standard for the remaining four as well, where it produces a one day difference between the Macedonian and Egyptian date.

¹¹ In one docket from year 28 the Egyptian calendar is used: *PSI* VI 559, dated year 28, Mesore 14; the year was corrected by Edgar in the introduction to *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59096 (the original edition read year 29 (κθ)).

¹² No letters written by Zenon are preserved from year 30.

Macedonian day is often simply equated to the Egyptian or calculated through addition viz. subtraction of a fixed number.

In year 31, they still set out with double dates, none of them with a correct Macedonian date, but after Mesore 18 (= October 8 255 BC), neither Zenon nor his clerks seem to bother any longer about providing a Macedonian equivalent and simply date according to the Egyptian calendar¹³.

It turns out that double dates in the Zenon archive were in use only for a short period of time, as a temporary measure while Zenon and his administration switched from the Macedonian calendar, which they were accustomed to in Alexandria, to the Egyptian calendar, which was the regular dating method in the Arsinoite nome. This significantly limits the possible dates for the present text, of course. The very fact that we have a double date puts the text somewhere in year 29, 30 or 31 of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Mesore of year 29 corresponds to the period between September 21 and October 20 of 257 BC, which is prior to the first known example of a double date in that year, and also prior, in fact, to Zenon's appointment as manager; hence it is unlikely that this letter would date to the 29th year. For year 31 one could argue that Mesore 23 is later than the last known example of a double date in Zenon's dockets (*P. Cairo Zen. II* 59184; 59185, dated Mesore 18 = Loios 28, which corresponds to October 8, 255 BC). Still, we cannot exclude the possibility that the double date in this text should be added to the list of double dates as a 'new last example'. In the Egyptian calendar, Mesore is the last month of the year, and if Zenon had by now fully adopted the Egyptian dating system, he may have stopped adding a Macedonian date with the start of a new Egyptian year¹⁴.

¹³ One might argue that all double dates for the years 29, 30 and 31 are found in the dockets from Zenon; we have only four letters that were sent by him during these three years, none of them with a double date: *P. Cairo Zen. IV* 59546 is dated year 29 Hyperberetaios 18 (= November 13, 257 BC), i.e. before he started using the double dates in his dockets; *P. Cairo Zen. I* 59129 is dated year 29 Tybi 28 (= March 22, 256 BC) and *P. Lond. VII* 1971 to year 31 Mecheir 3 (= March 27, 254 BC). Strictly speaking, the last example dates from after the double dates in his dockets, and for year 30 there are no letters from Zenon preserved, hence the only letter that really dates to the period when he used double dates in the dockets is *P. Cairo Zen. I* 59129. This one example of an Egyptian date does not mean that Zenon could not occasionally have used a double date in his letters as well as in his dockets.

¹⁴ The Egyptian year did not coincide with the Macedonian year, though, and therefore a new Egyptian year did not mark a new year in the dating formula, which was generally taken from the regnal year of the king. On Mesore 23, the current regnal year would have been 31, but the Egyptian year was in fact still year 30. After Mesore came the five *epagomenal* days, and the Egyptian new year (i.e. Egyptian year 31) would start on Thoth 1 (October 26, 255 BC).

With all this in mind, we end up with two possible dates; either Mesore 23 of year 30, or of year 31. The Egyptian date is the actual, correct date, which is confirmed by the docket on the *verso*. This docket was added by Kleon or one of his clerks upon receiving the letter, and although most of it is illegible, the end of the date in line 1, [Μεσ]ορῆ κδ, is legible; the preceding year is completely erased¹⁵. A letter being sent out on Mesore 23 from Philadelphieia may very well have arrived one day later; proof of this can be found in numerous dockets in the Zenon archive. Since Kleon never seems to have used the Macedonian calendar, the *verso* will not have contained a Macedonian equivalent.

We can finally restore the text in the lacuna as follows: Ἐρ[ρωσο. (Ἔτους) λ Λωίου] κγ, Μεσορῆ κγ (for year 30) or Ἐρ[ρωσο. (Ἔτους) λα Γορπιαίου] κγ, Μεσορῆ κγ (for year 31). Both Macedonian dates are obviously direct equations, which do not correspond to the actual date¹⁶. In both cases, the dates correspond to October 13, either of 256 BC or of 255 BC.

Brit. Library inv. 539

H x W: *fragm.* 1: 7.5 x 18 cm, margins at top (1.5 cm), left (3.5 cm) and bottom (2 cm)

fragm. 2: 7.5 x 12.5, margins at top (1.5 cm) and bottom (2 cm)

fragm. 3: 5 x 1.5 cm (no writing)

Editions: *P.Petrie* II 13 (11) [Mahaffy]

P.Petrie III 42 A [Mahaffy-Smyly]

C.C. EDGAR, *Three Ptolemaic Papyri*, *JEA* 14 (1928), no. 1, p. 288

P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. B [= Edgar, *JEA*]

Date: Sent on October 13, 256 BC and received on October 14, 256 BC, viz. October 13, 255 BC and October 14, 255 BC.

Provenance: Arsinoites

Recto

1. Ζήνων Κλέωνι χαίρειν. Τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐ[ν τῇ διώρυγι οὐκ ἀνα]βέ-
βη[κ]εν πλείω ἢ [πῇ]χυν,
2. ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς ποτίζε[σθαι τὴν γῆν. Καλῶς ἂν οἴ]ν
π[ο]ήσαις ἀνοίξας

¹⁵ Edgar acknowledged that «Kleon's docket on the verso is illegible except for the number κδ, which shows that the letter was received the day after it was written.» He restored the year on what he thought was the correct reading for the recto, but the remaining traces certainly do not hint at year 28.

¹⁶ The correct equivalents for Mesore 23 would have been Loios 26 in year 30 or Gorgiaios 8 in year 31.

3. τὰς θύρας, ἵνα ποτίζ[ητ]αι ἡ γῆ.

4. Ἔρ[ρωσο. (Ἔτους) λ Λωίου] κγ, Μεσορὴ κγ

Verso (2nd hand)

1. [(Ἔτους) λ, Μεσ]ορὴ κδ̄.

Κλέωνι

2. ὠν..... ὕδ[ατ]ος

3. ...[- - - - -]

1. ὕδωρ αν[...εβ]η.ε εν πλειώ [...]χεν Mahaffy, ὕδωρ τὸ ἐ[ν τῇ διώρυγι οὐκ ἀνα]βέβη[κ]εν πλειώ ἢ [πῆ]χυν Edgar; 2. Ποτίζε[σθαι] πόλις ανοι[Mahaffy, ποτί]ζεσ[θαι - - καλῶς] ποιήσεις Wilcken *apud P. Petrie* III, p. xiv, ποτί-ζεσ[θαι τὴν γῆν. Καλῶς ἀν ο]ῦν π[ο]ήσαις Edgar; 3. Ποτίζ[ητ] ἡμ[ᾶς] ἤδη Mahaffy, ποτίζ[ητ]αι ἡ γῆ Wilcken *loc. cit.*; 4. Ἔρ[ρωσο. (Ἔτους)] κη Μεσορὴ κγ Mahaffy, Edgar, (Ἔτους) λ Λωίου] κγ Μεσορὴ κγ *legimus et supplevimus*.

Verso Λκη Μεσορὴ κδ̄ Edgar; [(Ἔτους) λ, Μεσ]ορὴ κδ̄ *legimus*; 2. ὑδ̄ Edgar, ὕδ[ατ]ος *legimus*.

Recto

Zenon to Kleon, greetings. The water in the canal has not risen more than a cubit, and so the land cannot be irrigated from it. Please, open the sluice gates so the land can be irrigated. Farewell. Year 30, Loios 23 = Mesore 23.

Verso

Docket: [Year 30, Mes]ore 24.

Address: To Kleon

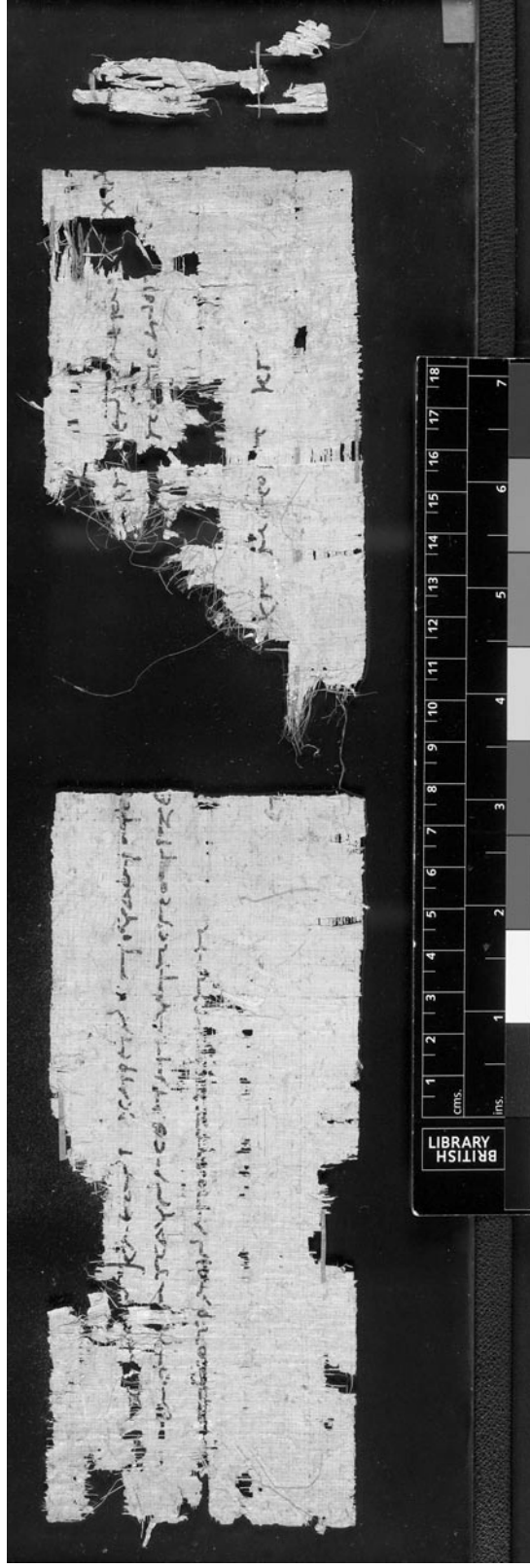
[- - - - -] water [- - - - -]

Commentary

- 4. For year 31, the text should read Ἔρ[ρωσο. (Ἔτους) λα Γορπιαίου] κγ Μεσορὴ κγ
- **Verso.** For year 31, read [(Ἔτους) λα, Μεσ]ορὴ κδ̄.

It seems impossible to decide firmly in favour of one of the two years proposed here; in view of the length of the lacuna, I tend to prefer the earlier date, since λ Λωίου is somewhat shorter than λα Γορπιαίου, and that is what I have adopted for the edition above. It depends on the scribe's handwriting, though, as both could be made to fit the lacuna if necessary.

Both these new dates go much better with Zenon's career than the date proposed by Mahaffy and Edgar. In 256 BC Zenon is officially appointed as manager and resides in the Arsinoite nome, so a letter concerning irrigation of the estate written by him does not come as a surprise anymore. The same is true for 255 BC.



APPENDIX

List of double dates in letters written by Zenon or in his dockets.
Correct dates are indicated in bold.

κθ year 29

January 27, 256	Audnaios 4	Choiak 4	<i>P. Cairo Zen. I 59120</i>
January 28, 256	Audnaios 5	Choiak 5	<i>P. Cairo Zen. I 59121</i>
March 4/5, 256	Peritios 11	Tybi 11	<i>P. Cairo Zen. I 59125</i>
April 11/12, 256	Peritios Embolimos 19	19 Mecheir	<i>PSI VI 671</i>
April 23/24, 256	Dystros 1	Phamenoth 1 ¹⁷	<i>P. Cairo Zen. I 59132</i>
April 26/27, 256	Dystros 4	Phamenoth 4	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59168</i>
May 1/2, 256	Dystros 9	Phamenoth 9	<i>PSI IV 335</i>

λ year 30

July 17, 256	Artemisios 25	Pachons 25	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59143</i>
July 18, 256	Artemisios 26	Pachons 26	<i>PSI IV 345</i>
July 21, 256	Artemisios 29	Pachons 29	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59142</i>
July 23, 256	Daisios 11	Payni 1	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59145</i>
July 31, 256	Daisios 9	Payni 9	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59144</i>
Augustus 10, 256	Daisios 19	Payni 19	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59146; 59147</i>
Augustus 23, 256	Panemos 12	Epeiph 2	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59148</i>
Augustus 27, 256	Panemos 6	Epeiph 6	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59149</i>
Augustus 30, 256	Panemos 9	Epeiph 9	<i>P. Lond. VII 1964</i>
September 22, 256	Loios 2	Mesore 2	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59150</i>
October 4, 256	Loios 14	Mesore 14	<i>P. Ryl. IV 560</i>
October 13, 256	Loios 23	Mesore 23	<i>P. Zen. Pestm. Suppl. B</i>
November 22, 256	Gorpiaios 28	Thoth 28	<i>PSI IV 341</i>
December 11, 256	Hyperberetaios 17	Phaophi 17	<i>PSI IV 342</i>
December 17, 256	Hyperberetaios 23	Phaophi 23	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59153</i>

¹⁷ See n. 10.

January 11, 255	Dios 18	Hathyr 18	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59154; 59160</i>
January 16, 255	Dios 23	Hathyr 23	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59156; 59157; 59161; P. Col. Zen. I 31</i>
February 26, 255	Audnaios 4	Tybi 4	<i>P. Zen. Pestm. 26</i>
March 27, 255	Peritios 13	Mecheir 3	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59165</i>
April 14, 255	(?)	Mecheir 21	<i>P. Cairo Zen. IV 59582 + PSI VII 863f</i>

λα year 31

July 16, 255	Daisios 4	Pachons 24	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59177</i>
July 31, 255	Daisios 11	Payni 9	<i>P. Cairo Zen. III 59389</i>
July 31, 255	Daisios 17	Payni 9	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59180</i>
Augustus 2, 255	Daisios 11	Payni 11	<i>P. Lond. VII 1967</i>
October 8, 255	Loios 28	Mesore 18	<i>P. Cairo Zen. II 59184; 59185</i>

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Afdeling Oude Geschiedenis

Bart VAN BEEK

THE ARCHIVE OF EUPHRON

Abstract: Reedition of a papyrus letter belonging to an archive from the Cynopolite nome in Middle Egypt and dating from the second century BC. The writer of the letter is called Pasinous, a rare Greek name typical of Crete.

In *AncSoc* 20 (1989), p. 133-145, P.J. Sijpesteijn and A.E. Hanson published three fragmentary letters from the Princeton collection, addressed to a certain Euphron. The letters are palaeographically dated to the first half of the 2nd century BC and make mention of the Cynopolite nome and of a revolt. They were included in *SB XX* 14184-14186¹.

The editors did not draw attention to *P. Princ.* II 19, another letter to Euphron in the same collection. Like the other three it was bought in Egypt in the 1920s by R. Garrett. Like *SB XX* 14184 and 14185 it is written against the fibres in a careful official hand. It is very tempting to attribute this letter to the same 'archive' as the other three, even though its contents are private, rather than official. If this is true *P. Princ.* II 19 should not be attributed to the Fayum, but to the Cynopolite or Hermopolite nome and the place name in l. 2 should be supplemented not to εἰς Ἀλαβ[ανθίδα], but rather to εἰς Ἀλαβ[άστρων πόλιν], a well-known place on the East bank of the Nile in the Cynopolites or Hermopolites².

The name of the author of *P. Princ.* II 19 was read by the editor as Παμνους. For this very rare name, apparently Egyptian, only two parallels can be adduced. In *P. Bad.* IV 106 l. 2 the reading Παμνουτος has recently been corrected by J. Cowey into Παμοντεχυσιος³. The graffito *SB I* 4068, transcribed by F. Preisigke from the facsimiles in Lepsius⁴,

¹ In *SB XX* 14185 κατασκευάσθαι is a typo for κατασκευάσασθαι, which is clearly there on the plate in the *ed. princ.* In *SB XX* 14186 καὶ Παγῶν[ις] should be read instead of τοῦ Παγῶν[ις]. The first error is due to the editors, the second to the *Sammelbuch*. In the lacuna of *SB XX* 14186 l. 4 stood no doubt a toponym, e.g. τῶν [ἀπὸ Ἀκώριος πόλε]ως τοῦ Κυνοπολίτου.

² Cf. M. DREW-BEAR, *Le nome hermapolite. Toponymes et sites* (*Amer. Stud. Pap.*, 21), Missoula 1979, p. 56-61; three texts from Alabastrine were published later by T. GAGOS & P. VAN MINNEN, *JRA* 5 (1992), p. 186-202.

³ I thank James Cowey for this information. The text will be republished by Cowey in a forthcoming volume of Heidelberg ostraca. There is a plate online at http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/VBP_IV/106/VBP_IV_106.html.

⁴ R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* VI, Berlin s.d. (repr. Genève 1973), pl. 82 no. 187 (not a real handcopy, but printed in capitals).

was not included in the reedition of the Gebel Silsile graffiti by Preisigke and Spiegelberg⁵ and is therefore apparently lost now. The reading there should be considered doubtful at least. A glance at the excellent plates on the APIS site of Princeton (<http://www.columbia.edu/cgi-bin/cul/apis/apis?mode=item&key=princeton.apis.p428>) shows that in *P. Princ.* II 19 the letter which was read as *my* is slightly damaged, and that the remaining traces correspond better to Πασίνους.

The name Pasinous is attested in Egypt, though the attestations in fact cover two different names.

An Egyptian name Pasinous is attested in Elephantine. Pasinous son of Petorzmetis pays different taxes at the time of Nero and Vespasian (*SB* I 1929-1932; *O. Erem.* 1).

A Greek name Pasinous is mainly attested in the Hermopolite nome. In the Ptolemaic period Pasinous is an eponymous officer in *BGU* VI 1258A l. 16 (153/152 or 143/142 BC) and *I. Hermop.* 4 l. 157⁶. Though the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* lists these as two individuals in II 1971 and 1972, E. Van 't Dack suggested that they were a single person⁷. The name recurs a few times in the Roman period (*P. Lond.* III 1159 l. 86: Besas son of Dionysios son of Pasinoos) and even continues as a toponym into the Arab period (a *topos Pasinou* in *P. Lond.* IV 1419 *passim*).

As eponymous officers are usually mentioned in the genitive preceded by τῶν, the name of Pasinous appears as Πασίνου in *BGU* VI 1258A and *I. Herm.* 4 l. 157. This has led to some confusion. The editors reconstructed a nominative Πασίνης, and this form is also accepted in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* II 1971-2. A Persian connection has even been suggested; Pasines would then be a variant of the better attested Spasines/Hyspasines⁸. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum*, p. 237 reconstructs a nominative Πασίνο-υος. But *P. Lond.* III 1159 l. 86 (gen. Πασινόου) and the Princeton text show that Πασίνους is in fact the contracted form of Greek Πασίνοος.

In the inscriptions from mainland Greece Πασίνοος / Πασίνους is a typically Cretan name⁹, found almost exclusively in the city of Polyrhénia,

⁵ F. PREISIGKE – W. SPIEGELBERG, *Aegyptische und griechische Inschriften aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile*, Strassburg 1915.

⁶ For the date of this inscription, see below.

⁷ *Ptolemaica Selecta* (*Studia Hellenistica*, 29], Leuven 1988, p. 112.

⁸ See e.g. E. BERNAND, *I. Herm.*, p. 34; F. HUYSE, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, V. *Iranische Namen in Nebenüberlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen*, Faszikel 6a. *Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens*, Wien 1990, no. 96.

⁹ F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917, p. 337, knows only the feminine form Πασινόα (Tegea; 2nd cent. AD).

see *I. Cret.* II xxiii 22 C l. 8; 46 l. 2 and 3; 49 l. 1 = *SEG* XLVIII 1225; 53G l. 1; 54 l. 1 and *BCH* 45 (1921), p. 19, col. III 103, for a *theorodochos* of the Delphian theoroi in Polyrrhenia). No doubt the double *o-mikron* or the diphthong *ou* should also be supplied in *IG* VII 307, where the new edition by Petrakos¹⁰ reads Πα[σ]ιν[ο]ς (l. 2) and Πα[σ]ιν[ο]ν (l. 4), respectively. It can hardly be accidental that the eponymous officer Pasinous functions side by side with Dryton, another Cretan¹¹. He may even have been a son of Dryton's, since another couple Dryton & Dryton, functioning about the same time, were almost certainly father and son.

The name of the general who according to Isocrates XIX 18 conquered Paros is usually read as Πασι̃νος by the editors, following two manuscripts Γ (corr.) and E. All other manuscripts, however, have πᾶσιν, οὗς. This is clearly the original reading of the uncial manuscripts: though the copyists did not recognise the rare name Pasinous, they faithfully transcribed the letters in their *Vorlage*, making an error of word division and accentuation, which led to a nonsensical text. The copyists of Γ and E realised that a personal name was meant and erroneously fabricated a new name Πασι̃νος¹². The error is already found in the ancient lexicon of Harpocrates¹³. The exact reading was presented by B. Coraes¹⁴, but not accepted by any editor. The name of the general suggests he is not an Athenian, as was suggested by Rubensohn¹⁵, but a Cretan.

If Pasinous in *P. Princ.* II 19 is identical with the eponymous officer of that name, this may explain the familiarity with which he addresses Euphron. Both were probably members of the local elite: Euphron belonged to the leading local family of Hakoris son of Hergeus and father of Euphron¹⁶. He may have been the very son who got himself into trouble in 168, but was granted amnesty because of the good services of his father Hakoris (*P. Köln* IV 186). The present dossier bears no dates and

¹⁰ B. PETRAKOS, *Oi epigraphes tou Oropou*, Athens 1997, p. 147-148 no. 200.

¹¹ For Dryton as a typically Cretan name, see O. MASSON, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I, Paris 1990, p. 36-37.

¹² The very rare proper name Pasinos seems to be attested in Hellenistic Epidauros and Roman Sparta; cf. P.M. FRASER, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* IIIA, Oxford 1997, p. 355.

¹³ Cf. the critical apparatus of the recent Teubner edition by B. MANDILARAS, vol. III, Leipzig-München 2003, p. 186.

¹⁴ Isocrates edition of 1807, see B. MANDILARAS, *Isocrates. Opera omnia* I, Leipzig 2003, p. 112 no. 164.

¹⁵ O. RUBENSOHN, *RE* XVIII (1949), col. 1817.

¹⁶ For this family, see W. CLARYSSE, *Hakoris, an Egyptian Nobleman and his Family*, *AncSoc* 22 (1991), p. 235-243.

the writing points to the first half of the second century. If the above identifications are correct, a date about 160-150 BC may be suggested. This is not contradicted by the mention of revoltees (*apostatai*) in *SB XX* 14186. It would imply, however, an earlier dating for *I. Herm.* 4: this inscription, which mentions a detachment headed by Pasinous and Dryton (l. 157), is usually dated to the late 2nd century BC, but since this dating is based on palaeographical arguments¹⁷, an earlier date does not seem impossible.

Since we have corrected the readings of the *editio princeps* on several points, we offer here a new text of the letter. The editor thinks that only a few signs are lost at the end of the lines, but this is unlikely. The text is written against the fibres and in this type of letters the whole width of the roll is used, which is normally 30-32 cm. Since 22.5 cm are preserved, about one-third of the text or 14 letters are missing. This corresponds to our supplement in l. 2.

Πασίνους Εϋφρονη χαίρειν. Καθότι κ[α]ι πα[ρόντι σοι]
 μετέδωκα ὑπὲρ τοῦ πέμψαι μοι πλοιάριον εἰς Ἀλαβ[άστρων
 πόλιν]
 ἀνακομισ[θ]ήσονται ἐγὼ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἡ παῖς[ς] '. Χάρις [...
]
 σι. Δὸς δέ μοι[τι] καὶ σκηνὴν σακκίνην τρίκλινον [... ..
 ...]μημένη
 5 Τὴν δὲ τιμὴν διασάφησον ὅπως ἐξαποστείλω σοι . κ[α] [... ..
 ...]
 σιτ[ι].
 Ἀπέχει δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος τὴν τιμὴν τῆς πίσεως ἐκ. [... ..
]

In the margin to the left of *P. Princ.* II 19 is a note in a more cursive hand. This note was probably not written by the sender, but by the addressee. In fact it probably contains a first draft of the answer to the request by Pasinous to have a boat at his disposal. Sometimes the answer to a letter was drafted on the back (e.g. *P. Köln* VI 342), but a first draft could also be written in the margin. The first line is nearly completely lost except for the last two letters, which the editor rightly read as τῇ i.e. the 18th day of the month. For the next lines I propose the following tentative reading:

δ. . [. .]. . τῇ
 ἀπετρ[.]. ι
 πεμφθῆ(ναι)

¹⁷ See the note by E. BERNAND at the bottom of *I. Herm.*, p. 24 n. 39.

10 τὸ πλ[οιάριο]ν
τῇ ιθ [ε]ῖς κ
ἄμ' ἡμέραι

Pasinous greets Euphron.

As [I told you in your presence (?)] I have reported (?) about sending me a ship to Alab[astron polis, by which (?)] I will be brought back with my sister and the child. Thanks [- - -]. Give me also a three-couched cloth cabin [- -]. Tell me the price so that I can send out to you - - [- -]. Apollodoros has also received the price of the pitch from [- -]

note in the margin:

[- -] on the 18th [I have ordered (?) that] the boat (?) should be sent (in the night) from the 19th to the 20th at dawn.

1. For the expression καὶ παρόντι σοι, see e.g. *P. Lille* I 12 l. 1: Ἐμνήσθην σοι καὶ παρόντι περὶ τῶν ρ (ἄρουρῶν), *PCZ* V 59817: καὶ παρόντι σοι ἐνεφανίζομεν and *SB* I 4303 l. 1: καὶ παρόντι σοι ἐμνήσθην.

2. μεταδίδωμι must here have the meaning 'to report', as in *UPZ* I 42 l. 26 (περὶ ἐκάστων μετέδωκαμεν), *P. Oxy.* XLIX 3471 l. 10 (μεταδίδωμι ὅπως εἰδῆτε) and *O. Claud.* I 126 l. 2.

2-3. The future tense ἀνακομισθήσομαι does not allow to supplement [ὅπως] in l. 2 and to interpret this as a sentence of purpose.

3. The sequence ἀδελφῇ καὶ παιδία suggests 'wife and children', but this use of ἀδελφῇ is Roman, not Ptolemaic. The earliest example is *BGU* IV 1203 l. 8 (29 BC). For that reason we have preferred to take the expression here at face value.

4. The feminine ending [- -]μημένη suggests that a woman is mentioned in the lost end of l. 4; [γεγα]μημένη 'just married' is just one of many possibilities.

5. ἐξαποστέλλω is mostly used for persons, but sometimes also for things, e.g. *PCZ* I 59073 l. 7. Α σκηνὴ τετράκλινος ἢ πεντάκλινος is asked for in *PSI* V 533, again in combination with boats and in a context suggesting a luxurious lifestyle. E.S. MACCARTNEY, *CPh* 29 (1934), p. 30-35, quotes several examples of luxury boat cabins with three or more couches. Here the cabin is made of cloth and therefore temporary; for σκηνή as a boat cabin, see L. CASSON, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton 1986, p. 165, and *BGU* XVI 2661.

11. To indicate the night between two days, Greek papyri use either a circumscription such as τῇ νυκτὶ τῇ φερούσῃ εἰς τὴν κς τοῦ Φαωφί

(e.g. *P. Tebt.* I 54; *BGU* VI 1252 l. 13; *SB* IV 7351 l. 7, X 10290 l. 9, XIV 12089 l. 3) or abbreviated expressions, e.g. Φαρμοῦθι $\overline{\kappa\alpha}$ εἰς τὴν $\overline{\kappa\beta}$ (similarly *UPZ* I 78.2; 81 II l. 2), τῇι νυκτὶ τῆς $\overline{\iota}$ εἰς τὴν $\overline{\iota\alpha}$ (*BGU* I 46 l. 7; *P. Tebt.* III 796 l. 3; *P. Würzburg* 5 l. 4), νυκτὸς τῇι $\overline{\kappa\zeta}???$ εἰς τὴν $\overline{\kappa\eta}$ (*P. Petrie* III 28e l. 5); cf. E. MAYSER, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* II 2, p. 407.

B-3000 Leuven

Willy CLARYSSE

Afdeling Oude Geschiedenis

GODDESS OF LOVE AND MISTRESS OF THE SEA

NOTES ON A HELLENISTIC HYMN TO ARSINOE-APHRODITE (*P. LIT. GOODSP.* 2, I-IV)*

Abstract: This article analyses one of the hexametric poems copied on a 2nd-century AD papyrus, possibly from Hermupolis, *P. Lit. Goodspeed* 2: a Hellenistic hymn to Aphrodite celebrated as a patroness of the sea and of wedded love. This portrayal of the goddess perfectly fits with Ptolemaic royal propaganda in the 3rd century BC. The address to Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμαίῃ (II 5) reveals that the goddess is here worshipped as a divine image of a queen Arsinoe, most probably Arsinoe II Philadelphos, who had strong links with key figures of the Ptolemaic navy. The hymn is compared with contemporary Alexandrian poetry, such as the epigrams of the Milan papyrus *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309. Some hypotheses are also presented on the context of the composition and the performance of the hymn (a Cypriot cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos?).

THE PAPYRUS

P. Goodspeed 101 is a fragment of a papyrus roll composed by a series of II AD documents pasted together¹. On the *verso*, on twelve fragmentary

* This article is an expanded and modified version of a short paper I presented at the conference *La cultura ellenistica: il libro, l'opera letteraria e l'esegesi antica*, Università di Roma, Tor Vergata, 22-24 September 2003. I wish to thank the anonymous readers and the editors of *Ancient Society* for useful comments and suggestions. Abbreviations:

CA = J.U. POWELL, *Collectanea Alexandrina. Reliquiae minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae 323-146 a.C. epicorum, elegiacorum, lyricorum, ethicorum*, Oxonii 1925 (repr. Chicago 1981);

HE = A.S.F. GOW – D.L. PAGE, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1965;

Kaibel = G. KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berolini 1878;

LDAB = *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*, <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be>;

M.-N. = I. MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus*, Göteborg 1976;

MP³ = Mertens-Pack³, <http://promethee.philo.ulg.ac.be/cedopal/index.html>;

SH = P.J. PARSONS – H. LLOYD-JONES, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 1983;

SGO = R. MERKELBACH – J. STAUBER, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten I: Die Westküste Kleinasien von Knidos bis Ilion*, Munich–Leipzig 1998; ID., *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten II: Die Nordküste Kleinasien (Marmarameer und Pontos)*, Munich–Leipzig 2000.

¹ The papyrus is now in the University of Chicago Library (*P. Chic.* MS inv. 1061). On the Edgar J. Goodspeed collection see R.W. ALLISON, *Guide to the Edgar J. Goodspeed Papyri*, *ZPE* 16 (1975), p. 27-32. The documents on the *recto* are still unpublished: they

columns, a number of Greek hexameter poems identified as hymns has been copied between the IInd and the IIIrd century AD (*P. Lit. Goodspeed* 2)².

Since style and prosody of the hymns are Hellenistic and their content reveals a Graeco-Egyptian cultural background, they have been labelled by the editors «Alexandrian Hexameters» (Goodspeed) and «Ptolemaic Hymns» (Powell). Actually the name 'Arsinoe' (II 5) brings us back to the early Ptolemaic age. According to Powell³, moreover, the so-called *Epyllion Andromedae* at col. VIII-IX could have been among Manilius' and Ovid's sources, therefore it should be dated to II-I BC at the latest. The hymns seem to be addressed to various gods of the Greek pantheon, Aphrodite (col. I-IV, possibly also V and XI), Apollo and Zeus (col. VI-VII), Dionysus and Artemis 'three-shaped' (Hekate/Isis) (col. X)⁴. But for one doubtful case, there are no spaces or other dividing marks between the poems⁵.

The fact that the hymns were written on a reused papyrus, the space-saving devices and some orthographic peculiarities suggest that this anthology, in spite of the clear and regular literary hand, was a private copy; it could have been commissioned to a professional scribe by a private person, who himself provided an old documentary roll for the job⁶. Nothing is known about the archaeological context (*Fundort*). The Goodspeed collection was mainly built on purchases from the antiquities market: this papyrus, along with *CLP* nos. 93 and 104, was bought in 1900 from an Egyptian dealer who said it came from Ashmunên, the ancient

were identified by E.J. GOODSPEED, *Alexandrian Hexameter Fragments*, *JHS* 23 (1903), p. 237-247 (237), as tax registers, with lists of names and figures in *arurae* and *artabae*.

² Pack² 1620; *LDAB* 5005. Editions: E.J. GOODSPEED, *art. cit.* (n. 1); ID., *Chicago Literary Papyri*, Chicago 1908, no. 2, p. 6-18; J.U. POWELL, *Fragments of Greek Poetry from the Papyri in the Library of the University of Chicago*, *Journal of Philology* 34 (1915), p. 106-128; ID., *CA*, p. 82-89. For more details on the editions and the contributions by A.S. Hunt, see S. BARBANTANI, *Some Remarks on P. Goodspeed 101 and on the Orthography of the "Ptolemaic Hymns"* (*P. Lit. Goodspeed* 2), forthcoming.

³ J.U. POWELL, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 127; J.U. POWELL – E.A. BARBER, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature I. Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Fourth and Following Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1921, p. 110.

⁴ K. NIAFAS, *A Note on Ep. Adesp. 9.X.14 Powell (PChicag. 1279 Pack)*, *ZPE* 119 (1997), p. 55-56, sees in col. X references to an initiation ritual, and to a (Dionysiac?) epiphany, accompanied by lightning and earthquake.

⁵ A.S. HUNT, in J.U. POWELL, *art. cit.* (n. 2), was the first to notice two fine parallel strokes at col. XI, possibly marking the beginning of a new poem. The photo of the papyrus clearly shows two long lines, not comparable with usual *paragraphoi*, in the space between the second and the third extant lines of col. XI (possibly three lines are missing at the beginning of the column).

⁶ For further details on the papyrus see S. BARBANTANI, *art. cit.* (n. 2).

Hermupolis Magna⁷. One of the most important cities in Middle Egypt, facing the Hadrianean Antinoupolis on the other bank of the Nile, Hermupolis has been a goldmine for papyrologists since the XIXth century⁸. Greek culture was still flourishing there in IV-V AD, as is evident from the books still read by Hermoupolites, including Hellenistic authors, orators and historians (see e.g. *P. Turner* 9 = *P. Berol. inv.* 21247)⁹. As we know from *P. Vindob.* 12565 verso (*SB* X 10299; III AD) and from excavations, there were several Greek temples in the city, among which a temple of Aphrodite (hypostasis of the local Isis: *P. Oxy.* XI 1380, 35: «in Hermupolis Aphrodite, queen, holy», cf. *Plut., de Is.* 3), worshipped as θεὰ μεγίστη¹⁰.

The 'Ptolemaic hymns' of the Chicago papyrus fit well with the Hermoupolite cultural climate, and not just for literary reasons. If the first hymn, as we shall see briefly, involves a cult of Aphrodite/Arsinoe Philadelphos, it might still have found an audience in Late Antiquity: Hermupolis' loyalty towards the Ptolemies is attested since III BC by many dedications¹¹, in particular by the imposing temple, still standing in the Roman period, dedicated by some κάτοκοι ἱππεῖς to Ptolemy III and Berenike, «gods Benefactors», and to their predecessors, the «Sibling gods»¹².

⁷ See E.J. GOODSPEED, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 237 n. 1; ID., *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 45.

⁸ On literary papyri from Hermupolis see É. BERNAND, *Inscriptions grecques d'Hermupolis Magna et de sa nécropole*, Le Caire 1999, p. 5-8; P. VAN MINNEN – K.A. WÖRZ, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Hermupolis*, *GRBS* 34 (1993), p. 151-186. On the cultural life of Imperial Hermupolis, and for documentary papyri see S. BARBANTANI, *art. cit.* (n. 2), with bibliography.

⁹ H. MAEHLER, *Ein Bücherverzeichnis aus Hermupolis*, in P.J. PARSONS, J.R. REA *et al.* (eds.), *Papyri Greek and Egyptian. Edited by Various Hands in Honour of Eric Gardner Turner on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, London 1981, p. 45-49, no. 9; G. IOANNIDOU, *Catalogue of Greek and Latin Literary Papyri in Berlin (BKT IX)*, Mainz am Rhein 1996, no. 151; R. OTRANTO, *Antiche liste di libri su papiro*, Roma 2000, p. 107-113. A sample of the Hellenistic authors read in Hermupolis in Roman times: I-II AD: Herondas (*LDAB* 1164); II AD: Antimachus (*LDAB* 221); III AD: Apollonius Rh. (*LDAB* 274); IV AD: Theocritus (*LDAB* 4000); IV-V AD: Apollonius Rh. (*LDAB* 287); V AD: Apollonius Rh. (*LDAB* 286) and Euphron (*LDAB* 882); V-VI AD: Callimachus, SH 249A (*LDAB* 0521); VI AD: Theocritus (*LDAB* 4006); VI-VII AD: Apollonius Rh. (*LDAB* 292).

¹⁰ Dedication preserved at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano: É. BERNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 8), no. 7 (83/82 BC); L. CRISCUOLO, *Iscrizioni greche dall'Egitto conservate nell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore di Milano*, *Epigraphica* 42 (1980), p. 185-187.

¹¹ É. BERNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 8), nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6.

¹² A.J.B. WACE – A.H.S. MEGAW – T.C. SKEAT, *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein. The Ptolemaic Sanctuary and the Basilica*, Alexandria 1959, p. 4-11. The sanctuary remained intact at least until V AD. A Christian Basilica was built above it.

Hermoupolis Magna could be a likely *Schreibort* for the ‘Ptolemaic Hymns’, whatever their Hellenistic origin (Alexandria?). However, it must be taken into account that papyrus dealers — now as then — are not likely to disclose the actual site of provenance of their merchandise. An analysis of the documents on the *recto* could — at the most — provide information about the office where they were written (*Betreffort*)¹³. since recycled papyrus could travel long distances, however, it is not guaranteed that the hymns on the *verso* were copied in the same place where the documents belong.

THE HYMN TO APHRODITE

The following text is based on a photograph of the papyrus provided by the University of Chicago Library in 2002¹⁴, collated with the previous editions. Many letters are now much faded and barely legible.

Col. I

.....
κα]λῶν ὕμεναίων
] θιασεΐαις
ἀ]νδράσι τερπνοῖς
] ἀοιδῇν
5] ἀρίστοις
]να καὶ καλὰ τησῇ
]ν βασιλῆα
]απελοιο μεγ[
]σι πλευροῖ[ς
10 χθον]ὸς ἡμετέρη[ς
] μηλοιο
]μοιο—
μ]εγιστο[
].[

Col. II

σὺν δ' ἄλ[ό]χοις σεμναῖσ[ι] φίλαις καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους
σεμνοῖς...μεγαλ[ο]. ρχησομαι . [...]. ἀε[...].
χαίρεταλ...τιωτ..ταμακ[...].ον[...].ν πολ[...].νη

¹³ F.T.W. HABERMANN, *Zur chronologischen Verteilung der papyrologischen Zeugnisse*, *ZPE* 122 (1998), p. 144-160 (149).

¹⁴ I wish to thank Jessica Westphal, Reference Assistant to the Special Collections Research Center, for providing a photographic reproduction of the papyrus.

- σὺν χθονὶ κα[ι] μερόπεσσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι με[γ]ίστοις
 5 Ἄρσινόα Πτολεμα[ι] παλαιγενὲς οὖνομα[.....]ον
 ἦν μάκαρες προβ[...].]ν πανδ[....]αλ[.....]ον
 ᾧ μερόπων[...].]τ ...γει. ἡ καλῶς τε . [±12] σπ[
 Ζηνὶ σὺν ἀθανάτων μάλα δα. [±12]ς
 τοῖς κα . ακ... μονα πᾶσι βροτ[οῖ]ς φ[±11]α
 10 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔχεν πρόσσθεν ποντ[.....]στου
 ε..[.]μ.υομενας νήων τὸ πολυσσθενὲς ὄπλον
 μέχρι.στ[...].]ννα.τον ἀλαίικτυπον ἢ γεγαῶσα
 ου[...].τ[...].]ν προμο.χροσσοὺς χθονὸς ἡδὲ πολήων
 φο[...].ν[...].]πρόπασα κρατοῦσα σὺ πόντον δπάξεις
 15 α[...].[...].] περὶ νῶτα καλοῖς τε. [....δ]πλίζη
 [..].ων ἀμφιπόλων σὺν κλε[±9]ρεσσα[
 [...].δε..ἀθανάτων προκαθηγ . [±9]τ[
 [ἀ]μφίπολοι σκοπέλοισιν ὁμοῦ σ[
 [..].]ἀναφυλάσσουσιν πτόλιν ἡμετέ[ρην
 20 [..].ρμαχ[...].]εν πρῶτα πατὴρ ἀνδ[ρῶν τε θεῶν τε]
 [..].τε χ[...]. φαεννὰ περισστηφ..θ[
 [..].κειθ[...].]σιολ[...].]γως [σ]ὺν κάλλ[ι]πυρο[
 [±13]ε]ν οὐρανῷ ἄσστε[ρόεντι
 [±10].τοιρῷ Κρονείονος πα[
 25 [±7]ἀθα]γάτων ὑπερέξσοχ[ος ἄλλων
 [±10] καλῶν κόλπων μα[

Col. III

- λ[±10] ἄσστ[ρ]άπτουσα γελᾷ τ[ε]ρπνοῖσι προσώποις
 κ[±10] θαλασσοπόρον χαροποῦ δ' ἀπ[ὸ] πόντου
 ε[±10] α.αποστ[....].π[...].[.] δ' ἀθανάτων τε
 α[±10]. εἰ θυμο[.....]φεν ἄν' ἀφρόν. —
 5 δ [καλὴ Ἄφρ]ογένεια γαμο[σ]στόλε καὶ χάρι τερπνὴ
 χ[±10] α τύπον γλυκεραῖσι παρηιιάδεσσιν
 τω[±10].ε..βλεφάρων θαλεροὶ πηδῶσι<v> Ἔρωτες
 ἐγκ δ[ε]]νεων μαζῶν δροσεραὶ θαμὰ δη.αι
 καὶ ἐκ[.....]ων ξανθοῖο κόμη. μυροβοσσῆρυχέεντος
 10 ἡδυτατ. [..].ωρσ ἰδανόχροα ἵπταται ἄνθη —
 ἡ [κ]αὶ πρὸς θαλά[μ]οις μείξασα καλῶν ὑμεναίων —
 [..].νωσ μὲν νύμφην παρὰ παστάσιν ἀνδρὶ ποθητὴν
 [ἐνθ]άδε τῇ νύμφῃ πρὸς λεχε.τ...λον σὺ χαρίζι
 ω μὲν χη. ερρ..ων τειμᾶν σὲ φύσις νενόμισται
 15 σεμνοτ[άτη.....]γει τὸν σὸν συνόμενον ἄνασσα
 ...[.... ἀνθρ]όποισι φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον ὄντα
 [±10]γτον ταμ[...].ρος αἰθ[...].[.....]
 [±10]γοισ . [.....].γορ[
 [±13]. μ[.....].εἰρ[
 20 [±13]. οτ[
 [±12]. εγ [

Col. IV

- τοὺς ἱεροὺς τη[±3]α ι θητο[±14]
 ἄρμα ἀνάγων δια[.] εἴσο . [±14]
 ἡέλιος φαέθων [..]α.. [±14]
 ὦ φιλοκέρτομε. [..]ονο[
 5 αἰεὶ γὰρ μύθοισι παύ[.]... [
 πτηνοὺς ἐς πάντα Ἐρωτας μὴ φαινομένους . [..].
 τοὺς μερόπων μεταλλωντας [..]γοις φρένα καρτερό`εσσιν`
 μῦθον μὲν τοῦτον παρελώμεθα ἐῖσι δ`Ἐρωτες
 σεμνῶς οἱ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπ` ἀνδράσι δῶρα φέροντες
 10 πρῶτα μὲν Ἥελιος μετέπειτά τε δῖα Σελήνη —
 μόκχθοις ρα [.....]αλλ...μαλ...α[.]να φέροντες
 ο[±10]. κοντ[±11] ἀπολεῖναι
 τερ[.....]ησοντ[±13]α δικαίως
 ου[±10]..[±15].εξ ἡμεῖν
 15 αμ[.....]α θνητοῖς
 [.....] . ἔργων-
 [.....]οιο —
 [.....]..
 [.....]οιο

The first four, possibly five columns (the fifth is very fragmentary) seem to be coherent in content, and may preserve part of a single poem¹⁵. As for the genre, although addresses to Aphrodite points towards a hymn, it is very difficult in the Hellenistic period to trace the boundaries between Hymn and Encomium¹⁶, which may share many of the following features:

- Gods are quoted in relationship with mortals (II 4; II 9:]μονα πασι βροτ[οῖ]ς IV 7, 15).
- there are invocations (II 5; III 5; IV 4).
- the key-word σεμνός is frequent (II 1, 2; III 15; IV 9).
- the poet speaks in the first person (II 2 ὀρχήσομαι?; IV 8 μῦθον μὲν τοῦτον παρελώμεθα) and salutes the gods he praises (II 3 χαίρετ').

¹⁵ S.A. STEPHENS, *Battle of the Books*, in K. GUTZWILLER (ed.), *A New Hellenistic Poetry Book*. P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309, Oxford (forthcoming), n. 61, is cautious in linking the fragment of col. III to the text of the previous two columns.

¹⁶ S. BARBANTANI, *ΦΑΤΙΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ. Frammenti di elegia encomiastica nell' età delle guerre galatiche*: SH 958, 969, Milano 2001, p. 18-22, 123-134; R.L. HUNTER, *Theocritus. Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphos*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2003, p. 8-24.

Aphrodite appears in the hymn in a triple role:

- Goddess of legitimate wedlock (III 5 ὦ [καλή Ἀφρ]ογένεια γαμο[σ]-στούλε; III 11 ἡ [κ]αὶ πρὸς θαλά[μ]οις μεῖξασσα καλῶν ὕμεναίων), accompanied by Erotes (IV 6 and 8)¹⁷.
- Mistress of the Sea (II 14 πρόπασα κρατοῦσα σὺ πόντον δπάξεις; III 2), possibly in association with the Dioscuri¹⁸, members of the Ptolemaic royal *pantheon* and ‘guardian angels’ of the mariners.
- Patroness of a city, along with other deities (I 10 χθον]ὸς ἡμετέρη[ς]; II 19 ἀναφυλάσσουσιν πόλιν ἡμετέρη[ρην]; II 4 σὺν χθονὶ κα[ὶ] μερόπεσσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι με[γ]ίστοις). Stressing the bond between a god and the city or land he/she protects is a *topos* in hymns commissioned for, and performed in, actual civic rituals¹⁹.

This portrayal of the goddess perfectly fits Ptolemaic royal propaganda in III-II BC: the cult of Aphrodite is transformed into a celebration of the harmony of the royal couple, granting dynastic legitimacy and continuity (cf. Theoc., *Id.* XVII 34-57). The stress on the connection between the Sea and the goddess of Love is something this text has in common with

¹⁷ Col. IV 6, cf. Theoc., *Id.* VII 117; É. BERNARD, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*, Paris 1969, no. 103, 1 (Hellenistic, from Terenouthis, where, under the first two Ptolemies, a temple of Hathor/Aphrodite built under Ramses II was restored) celebrates Κύπρι, τανυπερύγων ἐπιτάρροθε μᾶτερ Ἐρώτων. Helios Phaethon (IV 6) is introduced here as one of the Erotes of Aphrodite's court; Selene, her sister, is an Eros too. There is a coincidence with Plut., *Mor.* 764B, 11 (*Erotikos* ch. 19), according to whom Egyptians believe in three Erotes: a Ouranian, a Pandemos, and, as a third, νομίζουσιν Ἐρώτα τὸν ἥλιον; the Moon for them is Aphrodite (I owe this remark to G.B. D'Alessio). Phaethon becomes an important and positive figure in Late Antiquity, for religious and cultural reasons (see L.S.B. MACCOUL, *Phaeton in Dioscorus of Aphrodito*, *GRBS* 44, 2004, p. 93-106).

¹⁸ Interpretation of II 18 (ἀμφίπολοι σκοπέλοισιν) proposed by E. LELLI, *Arsinoë II in Callimaco e nelle testimonianze letterarie alessandrine (Teocrito, Posidippo, Sotade e altri)*, *ARF* 4 (2002), p. 5-29 (19). On the Dioscuri, brothers of Aphrodite-Helen (to whom the queen was assimilated: Theoc., *Id.* XVIII and XV 110) see H.H. *Diosc.* XXXIII 6-7; Theoc., *Id.* XXII 8-22.

¹⁹ Cf. *Paeon Erythraeum* 19-20 (CA, p. 136): χαῖρέ μοι, Ἥλαος δ' ἐπινίσειο | τὰν ἐμὰν πόλιν εὐρύχορον (ἀμετέραν πόλιν in the copy from Ptolemais; Δείων πόλιν εὐρύχορον in the copy from Dion); *Athenian Paeon* by Macedonicus, 28 (CA, p. 138): σώζεις Ἀτθίδα Κεκροπίαν πόλιν; *Paeon* by Isyllos, 59-60 (CA, p. 134): τὰν σὺν Ἐπίδauρον ματρόπολιν αὔξων; *Epidaurian hymn to all gods*, *IG* IV² 1.129: σώζετε τόνδ' Ἐπίδauρου ναόν. C. MEILLIER, *Callimaque et son temps. Recherches sur la carrière et la condition d'un écrivain à l'époque des premiers Lagides*, Lille 1979, p. 49, p. 262 n. 96, was convinced that the Goodspeed hymn could recall the foundation of a city and compared some expressions of this hymn with Call., *H.* III 47-48, *H.* II 9-15, *H.* IV 3. The celebration of a city or a land as protected by gods is customary also in epinician context, see e.g. Call., *Victoria Sosibii* fr. 384, 24 ff. PFEIFFER.

other Hellenistic hymns to Aphrodite preserved on papyrus: the hymn of *P. Köln* VI 242 (II-I BC)²⁰ opens with a grand celebration of the birth of Aphrodite from the sea, which can be hinted also in *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2 III 1-4: E.A. Barber²¹ suggested to read in these lines an aetiological account of the name of the foam-born goddess. Another interesting hymn to Aphrodite has been copied on *BKT* IX 63 (also from Hermoupolis, II AD), contemporary to *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2, but written by a different hand; it preserves two fragmentary hymns in iambic and Aeolic metre, possibly part of a wider anthology in alphabetical order, with *lemmata* introducing the poems (I 6 Ἄφ[ροδίτη])²². The poet invites some κοῦροι to celebrate the goddess (I 7: ὕμνήσατε), whose site is a place «surrounded by waves», probably Cyprus (I 9: να]ίουσαν... ἀμφικύμονα Κ[ύπρον])²³: it could be a clue to an actual performance or simply a fictional ritual order, like in Posid. 116,8-9 A.-B. and 119,2 A.-B., Hedyl., *HE* IV 9-10.

The address to Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμα[ί] (II 5) reveals that the goddess worshipped here is a divine image of a queen Arsinoe. Her strong link with a marine and nuptial Aphrodite suggests that the queen is most probably Arsinoe II Philadelphos. In the past some scholars, stressing the ‘nuptial flavour’ of the hymn²⁴, interpreted the poem as a celebration of Arsinoe’s wedding with her brother Ptolemy II; some even considered it an ‘epithalamium’ (Crusius, Goodspeed and Powell)²⁵. The presence of

²⁰ *P. Köln* VI 242 (LDAB 6860; B. KRAMER, *Zwei literarische Papyrusfragmente aus der Sammlung Fackelmann*, *ZPE* 34, 1979, p. 1-14); from *cartonnage*, provenance unknown. It preserves an anthology with anapaestic tetrameters (col. A) and a hymn to Aphrodite in hexameters (cols. B-D), whose *incipit* is marked with a *paragraphos*. At the end of line B1 M]ητροδόρου can be read, possibly the author of the poem.

²¹ *Apud* J.U. POWELL, *art. cit.* (n. 2).

²² Mertens-Pack, add. 417.2; LDAB 4579; H. MAEHLER, *Griechische literarische Papyri*, *ZPE* 4 (1969), p. 81-122 (94-101); *BKT* IX 63. For the provenance from Hermoupolis see H. MAEHLER, *art. cit.*, p. 81, 94. The first hymn is to Anubis (I 5 Ἄνουβι); cf. *SGO* II 09/01/02 (= Kaibel 1029) (Bithynia). Other hymns are introduced by *lemmata* with the name of the god in the dative, like Aristonoos’ *Paean to Apollo and to Hestia* (CA, p. 162, 164).

²³ [ἀμ]φικ<ύ>μονα (Maehler; cautious G. IOANNIDOU, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 92:].και μοναν α[.], cf. *H.H. Aphr.* X 4-5: χαῖρε θεῶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐκτιμένης μεδέουσα | εἰναλῆς τε Κύπρου; *A.P.* IX 333: Κύπριδος εἰναλίας; Posid., *A.P.* XII 131: Aphrodite dwells in Cyprus, Cythera, Miletos and in Syria; *H. Orph.* LV 24-26. (H. MAEHLER, *art. cit.* [n. 22], p. 98-99).

²⁴ Allusions to wedding: I 1 καλῶν ὕμεναίων; I 3 ἀ]νδράσι τερπνοῖς; III 5 γαμοσ-στόλε (epithet of Hera and Aphrodite, cf. *A.P.* VI 207) καὶ χαριτέρπνην; III 11; III 12, 13. Cf. *Andrius Isis hymn* III 109-111.

²⁵ In July 2003, thanks to Mrs K. Hilliard, Librarian of St. John’s College Library, Oxford, I could inspect Powell’s papers preserved there (Ms 360), in particular ‘Notebook 1’

expressions celebrating conjugal love is not enough, however, to define the piece as an 'epithalamium' actually performed during the wedding ceremony: a purely literary composition in hexameters or in elegiac couplets, stressing the virtues of the queen through a clever re-use of a nuptial language-code, could have been presented to the queen herself or to the royal couple on some other special occasion. There are similar cases in roughly contemporary Alexandrian poetry, e.g. Theoc., *Id.* XVII 129-134 and *SH* 961, an elegy apparently composed as a preface for an epigrammatic anthology, but also as a celebration of the wedding of an 'Arsinoe', associated to Hera (Il. 2, 7, 13), as customarily Arsinoe Philadelphos. The remains of a poem by Callimachus, possibly for the wedding of the Adelphoi, are too meagre to be applied the label 'epithalamium' (fr. 392 Pfeiffer Ἀρσινόης, ᾧ ξεῖνε, γάμον καταβάλλοιμ' αἰείδειν)²⁶.

A careful analysis of the text of the Chicago papyrus shows, however, that the hymn was not dedicated to a living queen, but to a deceased and divinised Arsinoe, associated/identified with Aphrodite and sharing with her the task of protecting her dynasty and her country. The insistence on the marine aspect of the goddess is not easily related to the fleeing woman just arrived in Egypt (as was Arsinoe II), but refers to a queen solidly on the throne, or already deified, and transformed into a symbol of Ptolemaic naval power. Of course in the hymn there could still be hints to the conjugal bond of the royal siblings, since soon after Arsinoe's death (270 or 268)²⁷ Ptolemy II instituted the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi: the συνόμενον of the goddess-queen (ἄνασσα) at col. III 15 could be a divine paredros (Adonis? cf. Theoc., *Id.* XV), and/or her royal husband, Ptolemy

(preparatory notes for the *Collectanea Alexandrina*). The only note on the Chicago papyrus is written on a small ruled 'Page 4' inserted later by Powell (a proof of an index), under the entry 'Adešpota, Hexameters, cont.': «Not yet copied» (pencil), «Goodspeed Pap. J.H.S.», «Epithalamium?». The same idea occurred to E.J. GOODSPEED, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 239: «several expressions... suggest an Epithalamium».

²⁶ E.J. GOODSPEED, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 239; G. WEBER, *Dichtung und höfische Gesellschaft. Die Rezeption von Zeitgeschichte am Hof der ersten drei Ptolemäer*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 260-261. On *P. Lit. Lond.* 60 = *P. Petr.* II 49(a) = *SH* 961 see the *status quaestionis* in S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 57-61. Cf. also *P. Ryl.* I 17, in hexameters, from Hermoupolis Magna (IV AD) and the so-called Helen Epithalamium, Theoc., *Id.* XVIII (R.L. HUNTER, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry*, Cambridge 1996, p. 139-166). On the *topoi* of the epithalamium see M.G. LYGHOUNIS, *Elementi tradizionali nella poesia nuziale greca*, *MD* 27 (1991), p. 159-198.

²⁷ See H. CADELL, *À quelle date Arsinoé II Philadelphie est-elle décédée?*, in *Le culte du souverain dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque au III^e siècle avant notre ère*. Actes du Colloque Internationale Bruxelles 10 mai 1995, ed H. MELAERTS (*Studia Hellenistica*, 34), Leuven 1998, p. 1-5, discussing Grzybek's dating to 268.

Philadelphos²⁸. Βασιλῆα at col. I 7 could be Zeus, the king of men and gods, appearing also at II 24, rather than Ptolemy — even if the two are ideally associated (cf. Call., *H. I*).

ARSINOE-APHRODITE/ISIS, LADY OF THE SEA

The euergetic and popular aspect of the Hellenistic monarchies was represented particularly well by queens, often associated with female deities supervising the house and family life²⁹. The cult of Aphrodite was also an instrument for assuring and publicising a legitimate dynastic continuity in all the Hellenistic kingdoms. Moreover, the goddess could be presented as a symbol of the naval power: *Euploia*, as *Pelagia* (Paus. II 4.7), is a well-attested epithet for Aphrodite since II BC, but even before that Aphrodite was considered a marine deity, given the circumstances of her birth³⁰.

Many Hellenistic queens were then proposed to their subjects as *avatar* of Aphrodite: e.g. the Seleucid Stratonike and Laodike, Antiochus' III wife; the Attalid queen Apollonis, honoured as 'Aphrodite Eusebes Apobateria' in Teos³¹. Almost all the Ptolemaic queens were deified as

²⁸ Cf. *CIG* III 4622, 4 (epitaph from Palestina): σεμνοτάτη συνόμευνε, καλῶν ὑπόδειγμα φιλόδρων. The *paredros* of Arsinoe/Aphrodite is defined ἀνθρώποισι φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον (III 16): «ally», said of a god, may refer to military deeds, but also to erotic or poetic enterprises, see J.J. O'HARA, *Venus or the Muse as an Ally* (*Lucr. 1.24, Simon. fr. eleg. 11.20-22 W*), *CPh* 93.1 (1998), p. 69-74.

²⁹ I. SAVALLI LESTRADE, *Il ruolo pubblico delle regine ellenistiche*, in S. ALESSANDRI (ed.), *Ἱστορίη. Studi offerti dagli allievi a G. Nenci in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*, Lecce 1994, p. 415-432 (424 ff.); J. ROY, *The Masculinity of the Hellenistic King*, in L. FOXHALL – J. SALMON (eds.), *When Men were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity*, London–New York 1998, p. 111-135.

³⁰ V BC: dedication to *Aphrodite Epilimenia* in *SEG* XXVIII, no. 1596; Eur., *Hipp.* 415, 522: *Pontia*. Many Hellenistic epigrams celebrate a marine Aphrodite (cf. L. ARGENTIERI, *Gli Epigrammi degli Antipatri*, Bari 2003, p. 130-131). On every Hellenistic royal boat and ship, e.g. those belonging to Hieron II (Ath. V 207e) and Ptolemy IV (Callix., *apud* Ath. V 205d), there was always a little shrine of Aphrodite.

³¹ B. VIRGILIO, *Gli Attalidi di Pergamo. Fama, Eredità, Memoria*, Pisa–Roma 1993, p. 47-49 and A. CHANIOTIS, *The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers*, in A. ERSKINE (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, p. 431-445. *OGIS* 228, 4; 229, 12; 70, 83 (Aphrodite-Stratonike); *SEG* XLI, no. 1003, II 70-03, from Teos, prescribes the use in sacrifices, purifications and nuptial ceremonies of the water of a fountain dedicated to queen Laodike, while in Iasos (*I. Iasos* IV 85-88, J. MA, *Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford 1999, p. 329-335) the newly wed should sacrifice to the same Laodike.

Aphrodite, from Berenike I³² to Cleopatra VII (Plut., *Ant.* 26-27), and also Bilistiche, courtesan of Ptolemy II (Plut., *Amat.* 753ef) had her fair share of divine honours. But the only queen to be presented with an impressive mediatic apparatus both as goddess of legitimate Love and Lady of the Sea was undoubtedly Arsinoe II Philadelphos.

The iconography of Arsinoe II as Aphrodite was promoted through poetry and figurative arts (statues, coins, *oinochoai*), and became a pervasive presence in Ptolemaic culture, especially after her death, thanks to Ptolemy Philadelphus and his successors³³. Arsinoe's identification with the goddess of Love relates primarily to her role of loyal wife and Philadelphos, «Brother-loving», but as soon as the two Adelphoi started their expansion in the Mediterranean and created the most powerful fleet, the queen was also associated with Aphrodite of the Sea³⁴. After her death

³² Theoc., *Idd.* XV (R.L. HUNTER, *op. cit.* [n. 26], p. 132-135) and XVII 45-50; Ath. VII 284ab (P.E. LEGRAND, *Bucoliques grecs*, tome II: *Pseudo-Théocrite, Moschos, Bion, Divers*, Paris 1927, II, no. XXV); A.P. XVI 68. On Bilistiche, see E. KOSMETATOU, *Bilistiche and the Quasi-Institutional Status of Ptolemaic Royal Mistress*, *APF* 50,1 (2004), p. 18-36.

³³ A portrait of Arsinoe II with diadema, as Aphrodite, is part of the restoration, promoted by Ptolemy IV, of the sepulchres of his ancestors (A. KRUG, *Ein Bildnis der Arsinoe II Philadelphos*, in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di A. Adriani I*, Roma 1983, p. 192-200, esp. p. 200). On the portrayal of Arsinoe see C.E. VISSER, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam 1938, p. 16-17; J.L. TONDRIAU, *Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses (IIIe-Ier siècle avant J.C.)*, *BSRAA* 37 (1948), p. 11-33; D.B. THOMPSON, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience. Aspects of the Ruler-Cult*, Oxford 1973, p. 57-59; H. KYRIELEIS, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975, p. 78-94, 140-148, 154-155; P. LÉVEQUE, *Idéologie et pouvoir sous les deux premiers Lagides*, in *Atti del Centro di ricerca e documentazione sull'Antichità Classica di Milano* 10 (1978-1979), p. 85-122 (112); W.A. DASZEWSKI, *La personification et la Tyché d'Alexandrie: réinterprétation de certains monuments*, in L. KAHIL – C. AUGÉ – P. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS (eds.), *Iconographie classique et identités régionales, Paris 26 et 27 mai 1983*, Paris 1986, p. 299-309 (Tmuï mosaic); A. LINFERT, *Neue Ptolemäer: Ptolemaios II und Arsinoe II*, *MDAI(A)* 102 (1987), p. 279-282; M. PRANGE, *Das Bildnis Arsinoes II. Philadelphos (278-270 v.Chr.)*, *MDAI(A)* 105 (1990), p. 197-211; on poetry, P.M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, I, p. 237-240; G. WEBER, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 254-263. To what extent the distribution of Arsinoe's portraits can be treated as evidence of her actual political power is still debated; recently many scholars, esp. R.A. HAZZARD, *Imagination of a Monarchy. Studies in Ptolemaic Propaganda*, Toronto 2000, p. 39ff., ch.V-VI, and S.M. BURSTEIN, *Arsinoe II Philadelphos: A Revisionist View*, in W.L. ADAMS – E.N. BORZA (eds.), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage*, Washington 1982, p. 197-212, have redimensioned her political weight.

³⁴ L. ROBERT, *Sur un décret d'Ilion et sur un papyrus concernant des cultes royaux*, in A.E. SAUBEL (ed.), *Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles*, New Haven 1966, p. 175-210 (154 n. 2); H. HAUBEN, *Callicrates of Samos. A Contribution to the Study of the Ptolemaic Admiralty*, Leuven 1970, p. 42-46; M. MALAISE – J. WINAND, *La racine grb et l'Amon-grb*,

and her apotheosis, she remained a patron of naval activities in the 'Ptolemaic Sea'.

It is impossible to know how much of the political plans for the expansion in the Mediterranean are due to Arsinoe Philadelphos' own will, or whether her husband-brother just exploited her character as a perfect embodiment of the Egyptian power at sea³⁵. What is certain is that many Ptolemaic harbours were named after Arsinoe II: at least two in Crete³⁶, one in Argolis (Methana)³⁷, one in Lycia (Patara) and one in Pamphylia³⁸. An Arsinoe was founded in Cilicia by the Ptolemaic strategos Aetos³⁹, while the ancient base of Koressia on the island of Keos was renamed Arsinoe in honour of the queen⁴⁰. Every Ptolemaic harbour was also a

CE 68 (1993), p. 12-28 (23-26); M. MALAISE, *Le culte d'Isis à Canope au IIIe siècle*, in M.-O. JENTEL – G. DESCHENES-WAGNER (eds.), *Tranquillitas: Mélanges en l'honneur de Tran Tam Tinh*, Québec 1994, p. 353-370 (357-358); V. PIRENNE-DELFORGE, *L'Aphrodite grecque*, Liège 1994, p. 433 ff.; E. SCHORN, *Eine Prozession zu Eheren Arsinoes II (P. Oxy. XXVII 2465 fr. 2: Satyros, Über die Demen von Alexandria)*, in K. GEUSS – K. ZIMMERMAN (eds.), *Punica Lybica Ptolemaica. Festschrift für W. Huss*, Leuven 2001, p. 199-220; G. BASTIANINI – C. GALLAZZI – C. AUSTIN, *Posidippo di Pella. Epigrammi (P. Mil. Vogl. 309)*, Milano 2001, p. 155.

³⁵ S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 153 n. 258; L. SHEAR, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 BC (Hesperia, Suppl. 17)*, Princeton 1978, p. 46.

³⁶ It is not sure whether they were founded by Philadelphos, since Ptolemy Philopator too dealt with the island, cf. G.M. COHEN, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford 1995, p. 132-134, 139-140: Arsinoe Lyktou and Arsinoe Rhithymna.

³⁷ This city controlled the Saronic Gulf and was possibly founded by Patroklos, admiral of Ptolemy II, around 268, after the death of the queen (G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* [n. 36], p. 124-126).

³⁸ Arsinoe Patara in Lycia was a harbour restored by Philadelphos (Diod. XX 93.3; G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* [n. 36], p. 329-330). Arsinoe in Pamphilia was possibly founded by Philadelphos: the region was under Ptolemaic control between 278 and 197, when it was conquered by Antiochus III (G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.*, p. 335-337).

³⁹ Arsinoe in Cilicia was founded by Aetos son of Apollonius, strategos of Cilicia, between 279 and 253 (G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* [n. 36], p. 363-364): the city had two separate cults, one of the Theoi Adelphoi (since 271), and one of the eponymous queen Arsinoe (C.P. JONES – C. HABICHT, *A Hellenistic Inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia*, *Phoenix* 43, 1984, p. 317-346 [326]); the inscription published by E. KIRSTEN – I. OPELT, *Eine Urkunde der Gründung von Arsinoe in Kilikien*, *ZPE* 77 (1989), p. 55-66, ll. 53-54, makes it clear that Arsinoe had a *temenos* distinct from the temple of Aphrodite. The city was embellished by the son of Aetos, Thraseas, strategos under Ptolemy III (see J. SOSIN, *P. Duk. inv.677: Aetos, from Arsinoite Strategos to Eponymous Priest*, *ZPE* 116, 1997, p. 141-146; C. HABICHT, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte*, Munich 1970², p. 335-346).

⁴⁰ Arsinoe on Keos is known only from epigraphic sources (*IG* XII 5 no. 1061). First Graindor suggested that 'Arsinoe' was the new name for the harbour of Koressia; the city was renamed possibly during the Chremonidean War, after the death of the queen (P. GRAINDOR, *Fouilles de Karthaia. Monuments épigraphiques*, *BCH* 30, 1906, p. 92-102 (95-99); R.S. BAGNALL, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt*, Leiden 1976, p. 142; G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* [n. 36], p. 137-139). On Ptolemaic bases in the

cult-centre of the θεὰ φιλάδελφος (e.g. on Kos a *temenos* was dedicated to her)⁴¹, and her cult was actively promoted by the chief representatives of the Ptolemaic navy: Aetus in Cilicia, Hermias in Delos, Callicrates in Egypt and in many other places⁴².

Impressed by the importance given in the hymn to the marine aspect of the goddess, P.M. Fraser suggested that the first poem of *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2 could have been composed for the inauguration of the temple of Arsinoë/Aphrodite-Zephyritis at Cape Zephyrion, on the Canopic branch of the Nile⁴³. The shrine and the cult related to it were promoted by a key-figure of the Ptolemaic navy, Callicrates of Samos, who was in charge as a nauarch for more than twenty years and was the first known ἱερεὺς of Theoi Adelphoi (272/271); he received honours in Egypt, Samos (*OGIS* 29), Delphi, Cyprus and Delos, and left everywhere monuments dedicated to his sovereigns⁴⁴.

Aegean see L. ROBERT, *Arsinoë de Kéos*, in *Hellenica* 11-12, Paris 1960, p. 146-159 (155-159).

⁴¹ M. SEGREG, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, 2 vols., Roma 1993, I, p. 51: *ED* 61, decree found on the *Asclepieion*, instituting the cult of Arsinoë Philadelphos with the dedication of a *temenos*, according to the advice of an oracle. Although widespread in the Mediterranean, the cult of the Thea Philadelphos is rarely hinted at in surviving court poetry: it was possibly celebrated by Call., fr. 507 PFEIFFER: φιλαδελφίων† ἄτμενος† ἢ ἀδείμων† (cf. U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*, Berlin 1924, I, p. 193, L. LEHNUS, *Notizie callimachee* III, *Acme* 49, 1996, p. 145-149 (146-147); G.B. D'ALESSIO, *Callimaco*, 2 vols., Milano 1996, p. 711-712).

⁴² H. HAUBEN, *Arsinoë II et la politique extérieure de l'Égypte*, in E. VAN 'T DACK – P. VAN DESSEL – W. VAN GUCHT (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven – 24-26 May 1982*, Lovanii 1983, p. 99-127 (113ff.); H. HAUBEN, *Aspects du culte des souverains à l'époque des Lagides*, in L. CRISCUOLO – G. GERACI (eds.), *Egitto e Storia antica dall'Ellenismo all'età araba. Bilancio di un confronto*. Atti del Colloquio Internazionale Bologna 31 agosto-2 settembre 1987, Bologna 1989, p. 441-467 (456-457, 461-462); J.L. TONDRIAU, *Notes ptolémaïques, Aegyptus* 28 (1948), p. 168-177 (173-175). According to L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 199-203, sand altars to Arsinoë were related to her role as a patroness of the mariners; contra, E. SCHORN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), suggests that *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465 refers to Arsinoë cult as Isis, not as Aphrodite Euploia. The nauarch Hermias instituted on Delos games called Philadelphieia; on the island was built a Philadelphieion, temple of Arsinoë-Agathe Tyche, where shells were offered as in the Egyptian sanctuary of Arsinoë-Aphrodite Zephyritis (R. VALLOIS, *Le temple d'Arsinoë Philadelphos ou d'Agathè Tyche*, *CRAI* 1929, p. 32-40). Nothing is known about the Egyptian Ἀρσινόεια quoted in *P. Flinders Petrie* II 16, 13 (III BC, private letter; cf. G. MILLIGAN, *Selection from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge 1927, p. 7 and S. WITKOWSKI, *Epistolae privatae Graecae, quae in papyri aetatis Lagidarum servantur*, Lipsiae 1911², p. 6). See F. PERPILLOU-THOMAS, *Fêtes d'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papyrologique grecque*, (*Studia Hellenistica*, 31), Lovanii 1993, p. 155-158.

⁴³ P.M. FRASER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, p. 667-668, II p. 239; II, p. 389 n. 393.

⁴⁴ See H. HAUBEN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), esp. p. 42-46, 66-67; S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 44-47 with bibliography. A new Posidippean epigram reveals that, after a Delphic victory, Callicrates dedicated bronze statues to the «Theoi Adelphoi» (no. 74 A.-B.; cf.

The relevant number of epigrams composed by the most refined Alexandrian poets to celebrate the temple at Cape Zephyrion confirms the importance of the new cult: a long epigram by Callimachus lend a voice to a shell offered by a girl belonging to the naval aristocracy (*Ep.* 5 Pfeiffer), and recalls the *Coma Berenices*, where the *persona loquens* is the royal lock consecrated in the same temple⁴⁵. Hedylus celebrates the famous ῥυτόν conceived by Ctesibius and dedicated at Cape Zephyrion (Ath. XI 497de)⁴⁶, inviting the νέοι to go and adore Arsinoe in her new sanctuary.

Until a few years ago only two epigrams by Posidippus were known on the subject: no. 116 A.-B., a celebration of the new temple of the βασιλίσση Ἀρσινόη Κύπρις-Ἀφροδίτη Ζεφυρίτις (ll. 5-7); and no. 119 A.-B., an invitation to honour, by land and at sea, the sanctuary τῆς Φιλαδέλφου Κύπριδος Ἀρσινόης, erected by Callicrates ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίτιδος ἁκτῆς (l. 3): to anyone addressing her, the goddess will grant εὐπλοίη⁴⁷. The recently published *P. Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309 has disclosed four more epigrams by Posidippus, all eight-liners in elegiac couplets, dedicated to Arsinoe Zephyritis. Nos. 37 and 38 A.-B. refer to the offer of two objects (a lyre and a cup). No. 39 A.-B. invites any mariner at sea to salute the goddess Arsinoe Εὐπλοία (l. 3: πότνιαν ... θεόν), who will grant a safe voyage to her worshippers; as in 119 A.-B., the initiative to build the temple is explicitly attributed to Callicrates (l. 4). No. 36 A.-B. is composed to accompany the offer of a scarf to a divinized (πότνια, l. 6) Arsinoe Philadelphos: according to the dream of the dedicant,

G. BASTIANINI – C. GALLAZZI – C. AUSTIN, *op. cit.* [n. 34], p. 200-202; J. BINGEN, *La victoire pythique de Callicratès de Samos [Posidippe, P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309, XI.33-XII.7]*, *CE* 77, 2002, p. 185-190).

⁴⁵ On the epigram see H.W. PRESCOTT, *Callimachus' Epigram on the Nautilus*, *CPh* 16 (1921), p. 327-337; K.J. GUTZWILLER, *The Nautilus, the Halcyon, and Selenia: Callimachus's Epigram 5 Pf. = 14 G.-P., ClAnt* 11 (1992), p. 194-209; V. GIGANTE LANZARA, *La conchiglia di Seleneia (Call. Ep. V Pf. = XIV G.-P.)*, *SIFC* 13 (1995), p. 23-28. It alludes to a naval basis 'Arsinoe' on Keos (L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* [n. 40], p. 153-155; J.F. CHERRY – J.L. DAVIS, *The Ptolemaic Base at Koressos on Keos*, *ABSA* 86, 1991, p. 9-28), while the dedicant's father was a military in Kos (P.M. FRASER, *op. cit.* [n. 33], I, p. 587). About the offer of the lock see K.J. GUTZWILLER, *Callimachus' Lock of Berenice: Fantasy, Romance and Propaganda*, *AJPh* 113 (1992), p. 359-385, O. ZWIERLEIN, *Weihe und Entrückung der Locke der Berenike*, *RhM* 130 (1987), p. 274-290; G. NACHTERGAEL, *Bérénice II et Arsinoë III et l'offrande de la boucle*, *CE* 55 (1980), p. 240-253; F. DUNAND, *La chevelure d'Isis*, *AC* 55 (1980), p. 584-606; S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 84-85.

⁴⁶ According to I. GALLI-CALDERINI, *Gli epigrammi di Edilo: interpretazione ed esegesi*, *AAP* N.S. 33 (1984), p. 79-118 (87-91), it may have been commissioned by Ptolemy II; on its length, EAD., *Su alcuni epigrammi dell'Antologia Palatina corredati di lemmi alternativi*, *AAP* N.S. 3 (1980), p. 239-280 (266-268, 273-277).

⁴⁷ Cf. G. BASTIANINI – C. GALLAZZI – C. AUSTIN, *op. cit.* (n. 34), comm. p. 155.

the virgin Hegeso, a similar cloth was used by the goddess to wipe away the sweat due to military actions⁴⁸. Although this Greek epigram celebrates a thoroughly Greek practice, Egyptian subjects could also be touched by this aspect of the cult: Isis, like Aphrodite, had also a martial side and protected the king and his land from his enemies, as is well illustrated in Isidorus *Hymn* III 9-20⁴⁹.

In the hymn of the Goodspeed papyrus, to Arsinoe-Aphrodite is granted the honorific title «leader of the immortals»: ἄθανάτων προκαθηγ[(II 17), supplemented προκαθηγήτειρα by W.R. Hardie and προκαθηγέτις by J.U. Powell. The title προκαθηγέτις, which in different variants is attributed to Greek gods (female and male) often to indicate their role as patron of a city⁵⁰, here is strengthened by the partitive ἄθανάτων, and recalls the customary portrayal of Isis in the aretalogies as the most powerful deity in the universe (*Pantocratrix*).

Although the Ptolemies generally adopted two different ideological strategies to relate to Greek and to Egyptian subjects⁵¹, it is possible that

⁴⁸ Arsinoe with ἐν χειρὶ δούρατος αἰχμήν... ἐν πήχει κοῖλον ἔχουσα σάκος (II. 5-6) could be an allusion to her involvement in the Chremonidean War: the frequency of the Macedonian ethnic in the new epigrams by Posidippus (nos. 78,14; 118,15 and 116,6; 82,3; 88,4; 87,2 A.-B.) helps to convey the image of the queen as a shield for the Graeco-Macedonians all over the Mediterranean (cf. G. BASTIANINI – C. GALLAZZI – C. AUSTIN, *op. cit.* [n. 34], p. 130-152). On *Ep.* 36 see S.A. STEPHENS, *For you, Arsinoe...*, in B. ACOSTA-HUGHES – M. BAUMBACH – E. KOSMETATOU (eds.), *Labored in Papyrus Leaves. Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus* (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309), Cambridge (MA) – London 2004, p. 161-176 (166-170) and *EAD.*, *art. cit.* (n. 15), p. 10-16; M. FANTUZZI – R. HUNTER, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge 2004. On the iconography of Aphrodite in arms see L. ARGENTIERI, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 155-159, 218-219.

⁴⁹ Although Isis, as the Hesiodic δίκη, knows how to tell the good man from the bad, and listen to the supplicants (V.F. VANDERLIP, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*, Toronto 1972, p. 52, 54).

⁵⁰ Title of Athena in *CIG* 4332 (Phaselis) = *TAM* II 1-3 (Lykia), nr. 1200, 8-9: τῆς προκαθηγέτιδος τῆς πόλεως θεᾶς Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιάδος; É. COUGNY, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice nova Epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum*, vol. III, Paris 1927, Caput II, no. 622, 5: Ἀθηναίης [προκαθηγέτιδος]. Cf. Mesom., in *Musam* 5-6 (E. HEITSCH, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, P, Göttingen 1963, p. 25): Καλλιόπεια, σοφὰ Μουσῶν προκαθαγέτι τερπνῶν; *TAM* II 1-3 (Lykia) no. 189, I a7-8: τῆς προκαθηγέτιδος Ἰθεοῦ Ἑκάτης; M. ALPERS – H. HALFMANN *et al.*, *Supplementum Ephesium*, Hamburg 1995 (SE) no. 2102, 3: (Artemis) πάσης γὰρ πόλιος προκαθηγέτις ἐστὶ γενέθλης ἰ μαῖα καὶ αὐξήτειρα βροτῶν καρπῶν τε δότεира. Male gods: *CIG* 5039 (= Kaibel 1023): Mandulis προκαθηγέτης; *IG* V², 93 (Tegea): Pan; *TAM* III (Termessos) no. 922, 3: τὸ σκῆπτρον Ἑρμοῦ Προκαθηγέτις ἐστὶ πορεύων. Προκαθηγέμων is another frequent attribute for gods, e.g. Artemis (in Ephesos), Asclepius, Herakles, Apollo.

⁵¹ See e.g. P.E. STANWICK, *Portraits of the Ptolemies. Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin 2003.

in the Greek ruler cult they would like to stress symbolic elements common to both cultures. Ptolemaic queens were granted Isiac attributes: Arsinoe II was commonly assimilated to the Egyptian goddess, and often the same Alexandrian courtiers who supported her cult as Aphrodite actively promoted her assimilation with Isis. Although there is no strict connection between the spread of Egyptian religion and Ptolemaic expansion in the Mediterranean, there is some evidence for a lively activity by Ptolemaic officials in exporting Egyptian cults⁵².

Arsinoe II was worshipped in Alexandria as 'Isis-Arsinoe Philadelphos'⁵³, while at Canopus the faithful Callicrates founded, in the name of king Ptolemy II and queen Arsinoe, a temple of Anubis and Isis⁵⁴; Apollonius built a temple of Isis and Sarapis in Philadelphia (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59168; *P. Mich. Zen.* 31; *P. Cornell* 1). Ptolemy III, founder of the

⁵² A. BRADY, *The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (300-30 B.C.)* (Univ. Missouri Studies, X 1), 1935; P.M. FRASER, *Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World*, *OATH* 3 (1960), p. 1-54; F. DUNAND, *Cultes égyptiens hors d'Égypte. Nouvelles voies d'approche et d'interprétation*, in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, Lovanii 1983, p. 75-98; L. VIDMAN, *Le culte égyptien et les Lagides*, in J. HARMATTA (ed.), *Proceedings of the VIIth International Congress of the Federation of Societies of Classical Studies*, Budapest 1984, I, p. 355-358; A.E. SAMUEL, *The Ptolemies and the Ideology of Kingship*, in P. GREEN (ed.), *Hellenistic History and Culture*, Oxford 1993, p. 168-215 (182); D. KNOEPFLER, *Sept années de recherches sur l'épigraphie de la Béotie 1985-1991*, *Chiron* 22 (1992), p. 411-503 (436-437). A special case is Boeotia, see S. BARBANTANI, *Competizioni poetiche tespiesi e mecenatismo tolemaico: un gemellaggio tra l'antica e la nuova sede delle Muse nella seconda metà del III secolo a.C. Ipotesi su SH 959*, *Lexis* 18 (2000), p. 127-173 (153-154). On the importance of the Ptolemaic garrisons for spreading the royal cult see A. CHANIOTIS, *Foreign Soldiers — Native Girls? Constructing and Crossing Boundaries in Hellenistic Cities with Foreign Garrisons*, in A. CHANIOTIS — P. DUCREY (eds.), *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart 2002, p. 99-113.

⁵³ *Oinochoai*: D.B. THOMPSON, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 71-75; *SB* 601, 602 (Alexandrian vases dedicated to Agathe Tyche-Arsinoe Philadelphos-Isis); *OGIS* 31; *PSI* 539.3.; *P. Petrie*² I 1, col. II 6d mentions a sanctuary of Isis-Berenike and Aphrodite-Arsinoe (under the Euergetes). On Arsinoe II as Isis see P.M. FRASER, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, p. 241-243; F. DUNAND, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, Leiden 1973, I, p. 34-36; J. QUAEGBEUR, *Ptolemée II en adoration devant Arsinoé divinisée*, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), p. 191-217 (202-203, 212) (hieroglyphic inscriptions «Isis-Arsinoe Philadelphos»); *id.*, *Documents concerning a Cult of Arsinoe II in Memphis*, *JNES* 30 (1971), p. 239-265 (246-248) (stele 379 BM: Arsinoe Thea Philadelphos-Isis; dead Arsinoe is «image of Isis and Hathor» in the Pithom stele); *id.*, *Reines ptolémaïques et traditions égyptiennes*, in H. MAEHLER — V.M. STROCKA (eds.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, Mainz 1978, p. 245-262; M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 359. See L. BRICAULT, *Myrionymi. Les épiclèses grecques et latines d'Isis, de Sarapis et d'Anubis*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1996, p. 60, for other references on iconography.

⁵⁴ *SB* I 429 (F. DUNAND, *op. cit.* [n. 53], I, p. 112; P.M. FRASER, *op. cit.* [n. 33], I, p. 271-272; H. HAUBEN, *op. cit.* [n. 34], p. 40-41). A. BERNAND, *Le Delta égyptien d'après les textes grecs. Les confins lybiques III*, Le Caire 1970, p. 232, nos. 2 and 3 are dedications to Isis-Arsinoe Philadelphos.

Alexandrian Serapeum, decreed that the names of Isis and Sarapis should be added in the royal oath to those of the deified rulers⁵⁵. The cult of Isis and Osiris as dynastic gods was consolidated under Ptolemy IV⁵⁶.

In Ancient Egypt Isis was originally a goddess of the wind and of fluvial navigation⁵⁷, but not yet a Lady of the Sea. Like Aphrodite, she was also a giver of abundance, therefore patroness of love and procreation (cf. *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2 III 5 Ἀφρογένεια γαμο[σ]τόλε and *Andrius Isis hymn.* III 110-111: γαμιοστόλος). Isis-Aphrodite is unknown to Herodotus; by the time of Alexander, the Egyptian goddess had inherited many characteristics of her Greek counterpart, and dedications to a syncretic Isis-Aphrodite are common in Egypt in III-II BC. 'Aphrodite' is one of the many names of Isis in Isidorus' hymns, found in Medinet Madi (Fayum) and dated to the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II⁵⁸; in the same poems, she is also celebrated as a sea-goddess, worshipped by... ὅσοι ἐμ πελάγει μεγάλῳ χειμῶνι πλέουσι | ἀνδρῶν ὀλλυμένων νηῶν κατὰ ἀγνυμένων (*H.* I 21, 32-33). In the later *Hymn of Andros* (I BC)⁵⁹, as in the Goodspeed hymn, the love theme and the marine aspect of the goddess are likewise strictly interwoven in the turn of few verses (see I 34-38: ἄδε θαλάσσης | πρῆτον ἐν ἀνθρώποισι περάσιμον ἦνεσα μόχθον | ἄδε δικασπολῖαι ῥώμαν πόρον | ἄδε γενέθλας | ἀρχάν, ἀνδρὶ γυναιῖκα συνάγαγον; and II. 145-157; cf. *Isid.*, *H.* III 104, 109, 111; IV 145-157).

In the Roman period inscriptions and aretalogies continue to hail Isis as a Lady of the Sea, founder of navigation⁶⁰. It is not clear yet how old

⁵⁵ *SB* 5680, *P. Eleph. Dem.* VII 22, 26; L. MITTEIS – U. WILCKEN, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, I. Bd.: *Historischer Teil*, II. Hälfte: *Chrestomathie*, Leipzig–Berlin 1912, p. 110. Previously only the current ruler was mentioned in oath.

⁵⁶ L. BRICAULT, *Sarapis et Isis, sauveurs de Ptolémée IV à Raphia*, *CE* 74 (1999), p. 334-343.

⁵⁷ M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 361-362 n. 58.

⁵⁸ V.F. VANDERLIP, *op. cit.* (n. 49); É. BERNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 631-652 no. 175. For Isis as Aphrodite-goddess of fertility see *Isid.*, *H.* II 15-16, 30.

⁵⁹ W. PEEK, *Der Isis-Hymnos von Andros und verwandte Texte*, Berlin 1930 (*IG* XII 5, no. 739; Kaibel 1028). It is a Doric poem in hexameters from I AD (*IG Suppl.* 1939, p. 98), possibly the work of an Alexandrian scholar.

⁶⁰ Cf. L. BRICAULT, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 16, 28, 60, 72. See e.g. *P. Oxy.* XI 1380, 61-62, 99, 122-123 (ca. 75 AD; B.A. VAN GRONINGEN, *De Papyro Oxyrhynchita 1380*, diss. Groningen 1921): πελάγους κυρία and θαλασσίῳν καὶ ποταμίων στομάτων κυρία; *IG* XII 5 no. 14, II. 39, 49 ποταμῶν καὶ ἀνέμων καὶ θαλάσσης κυρία and ναυτιλίας κυρία (Ios, I-II AD), πόντου διὰ ἄνασσα (*SIRIS* 325,10, Chios I AD); *SB* I 977,2 (Alexandria 14 AD). The Isis aretalogy from Cyme (Aeolid) dates to I BC, while the other are later: they possibly derive from a Greek translation and paraphrase in prose of an Egyptian inscription in the temple of Isis, set in Memphis early in the Ptolemaic era: the goddess speaks in the first person (III BC?; see D. MÜLLER, *Aegypten und die griechischen*

the Greek prototype for these compositions is, but it could go back to the II BC: actually by that time the Egyptian goddess was already worshipped as *Pelagia*, *Euploia*, then *Pharia*⁶¹, on coins of Asia Minor and Delos lamps. Possibly Isis as a sea-goddess is an Alexandrian creation, due to syncretism with Aphrodite and her association with early Ptolemaic queens, mistresses of naval activities: this could have happened under the reign of Arsinoë II, divinised both as Isis and Aphrodite⁶².

ARSINOË CITY-GODDESS: A POSSIBLE CYPRIOT LINK?

Fraser's hypothesis about the destination of the Goodspeed hymn is suggestive, but there is another possible interpretation. Powell⁶³ first noticed that, although some expressions of the hymn could recall poems in honour of the living queens (such as *Victoria Berenices* SH 254,2: νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν), nevertheless, the vocative Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμα[ῖ] παλαιγενὲς οὔνομα is better understood as referring to a

Isisareta logien, ASAW [Leipzig], Berlin 1961; J. BERGMAN, *Ich bin Isis. Studien zum memphitischen Hintergrund der griechischen Isisareta logien*, Uppsala 1968; E. VASSILIKA, *Ptolemaic Philae*, Leuven 1989; LV. ŽABKAR, *Hymns to Isis in her Temple at Philae*, Hanover 1988; G. FOWDEN, *The Egyptian Hermes. A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* [revised ed.] Princeton 1993 [Cambridge 1986²], p. 45-52). On the structure of Isis hymns see M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 361 n. 54-55. Many are also the epigrams with dedications to Isis, e.g. É. BERNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 17), no. 107.

⁶¹ The oldest image of Isis with sail appears on coins of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (II BC). See E. CONDURACHI, *Isis-Aphrodite. Beiträge zu einer Iconographie des alexandrinischen Synkretismus*, BHAR 21 (1939), p. 33-53; P. BRUNEAU, *Isis Pélagia à Delos*, BCH 85 (1961), p. 436-446; C. PICARD, *Lampes d'Isis Pelegia et Euploia à Délos et ailleurs*, RA 1962, p. 228-230; P. BRUNEAU, *Isis Pélagia à Delos (compléments)*, BCH 87 (1963), p. 301-308 and ID., *Existe-t-il des statues d'Isis Pélagia?*, BCH 98 (1974), p. 333-381; T. OZIOL, *Les lampes du Musée de Chypre, Salamine* 7 (1977), p. 567; J. LECLANT, *Isis, déesse universelle et divinité locale, dans le monde gréco-romaine*, in L. KAHIL – C. AUGÉ – P. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS (eds.), *Iconographie classique et identités régionales, Paris 26-27 mai 1983*, Paris 1986, p. 341-353 (346-347, 349); L. BRICAULT, *Un phare, une flotte, Isis, Faustine, et l'annone*, CE 75 (2000), p. 136-149. As *Pelagia* and *Pharia* Isis is on Alexandrian coins until the Roman era (V.F. VANDERLIP, *op. cit.* [n. 49], p. 33-34, 81; TRAM TAM TINH, *Le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Paris 1964, p. 98ff.; M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* [n. 34], p. 360 n. 51).

⁶² J. QUAEGBEUR, in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (n. 53), p. 245-262. According to M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* (n. 34), following G. VANDERBEEK, *De Interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur*, Louvain 1946, the metamorphosis of Isis as a Sea goddess happened under Arsinoë II: a hint could be the attribution by Min. Fel., *Oct.* 21.1, to Euhemerus of an interest in the figure of "Isis Pharia" linked to the construction of the Pharos under Ptolemy I and II. F. DUNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 53), I, p. 94-95, suggests that these marine elements could rather derive from Hathor or Ammon (cf. M. MALAISE, *art. cit.* [n. 34], p. 358 n. 30).

⁶³ J.U. POWELL, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 120-121.

city named after a queen Arsinoe. If the hymn was composed in the IInd or Ist century BC, the 'ancient name' could easily be that of a foundation one-two centuries old. As noted above, the insistence on *πτόλιν ἡμετέραν* evokes a cult of an eponymous goddess Aphrodite-Arsinoe. Actually, there are traces of cults of Arsinoe II as city-goddess, in Arsinoe in Cilicia and in other Ptolemaic bases⁶⁴.

Although Aphrodite was worshipped all over the Mediterranean, her homeland was believed to be Cyprus, as already attested by the *Homeric Hymns*⁶⁵. Powell went as far as to identify the first Goodspeed hymn as a «hymn to Cyprus», an ideal *pendant* of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. His belief was supported by thematic coincidences between the second extant poem of *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2, VI 12-14 (a hymn to Apollo and/or Zeus?), and the Callimachean *Hymn to Delos*, where the Olympian gods defeat the newborn Titans or Giants, the Galatians⁶⁶; the first two Goodspeed hymns would then be a twin set praising the Adelphi (Arsinoe II-Cyprus; Ptolemy II-Delos).

If we accept Powell's view, it is hard to think of an occasion in which a generic *Hymn to Cyprus* could be performed, and it should be admitted that this hymn is a purely literary composition, to praise one of the Ptolemaic strongholds in the Mediterranean. However, some expressions rather suggest a piece commissioned to a professional by the citizens of a town named 'Arsinoe', to be recited during a festival in honour of the civic goddess, Aphrodite-Arsinoe (II 1-2, 5, see below, p. 158).

But how to identify this city? Many Ptolemaic settlements bore the name 'Arsinoe': one near Canopus, in Egypt (in the Roman period, this name was also given to the capital of the Arsinoite nome); others were located in the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean or in Asia Minor, in Ptolemaic-controlled areas⁶⁷; some of them, like Arsinoe in Aetolia

⁶⁴ See above, n. 39 (Cilicia) and also n. 41 (Kos).

⁶⁵ *H.H.* X 4-5: χαῖρε θεὰ Σαλαμῖνος ἐκτιμένης μεδέουσα | εἰναλῆς τε Κύπρου. See also the Hellenistic hymn of the Berlin papyrus, above, n. 23).

⁶⁶ Ἰκαὶ ἀρισστέας ἦς παλάμησιν |] κρατερώτατα φοῖλα γιγάν[ω]ν |]ων γένος ἄγριον ἀνδρῶν (cf. ἄγρια φῦλα Γιγάντων, *Od.* VII 206). Cf. also Apollo's victory over the Galatians in Limenios' *Paeon* (CA, p. 149-159). On Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρα as «router of the Giants» in Call., *H.* I 3 see R. HUNTER – T. FUHRER, *Imaginary Gods? Poetic Theology in the Hymns of Callimachus*, in *Callimaque. Six exposés suivies de discussions* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt, XLVIII), Genève 2002, p. 143-176 (170 n. 67) and A. KÖHNKEN, *Πηλαγόνων ἐλατήρ. Kallimachos Zeushymnos v. 3*, *Hermes* 112 (1984), p. 438-445. For the Ptolemaic victory over the Gauls and references to the slaying of chthonian forces, see S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), esp. p. 132, 188-203.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 146.

and Ephesos⁶⁸, were founded by Lysimachus when Arsinoe was still his wife (Strabo XIV 1.21). The marine allusions in the hymn actually suggest a location by the sea, while the lively portrayal of Aphrodite as a goddess of love suggests an active local cult of this goddess. Both these characteristics point towards Cyprus, and Powell's hypothesis could be adjusted by thinking of a Cypriot city named after Arsinoe Philadelphos.

This island laid at the core of the Ptolemaic empire for three centuries, and the Ptolemaic ruler cult was imported there very early. The ancient veneration for the local preellenic goddess of fertility later assimilated to Aphrodite favoured the development of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos, which survived at least one century after her death⁶⁹. After being conquered by Ptolemy I in 295/4, Cyprus continued to develop a lively civic life: on the island there were thirteen autonomous *poleis*⁷⁰, each of them organising its own cults and expressing loyalty to their rulers with particular rites. At least twenty altars for the household cult of Arsinoe have been found in various Cypriot cities, as well as in Eretria (*SEG* XL 763), Miletus (*I. Milet* I 7 nos 288-289)⁷¹ and Egypt (see n. 42 about the rites described in *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465).

⁶⁸ Arsinoe in Aetolia: Polyb. XVII 10; Strabo X 2, 122, 4602; St. Byz. s.v. Ἀρσινόη (no. 8); G. LONGEGA, *Arsinoe II*, Roma 1968, esp. p. 72ff. Arsinoe-Ephesos: R. HUNTER – T. FUHRER, *op. cit.* (n. 66), p. 182-183, suggest that the foundation of Ephesos as 'Arsinoe' by Lysimachus, which could have strongly linked Arsinoe with Artemis as city-goddess (M. ERLER, *Das Recht [ΔΙΚΗ] als Segensbringerin für die Polis. Die Wandlung eines Motivs von Hesiod zu Kallimachos*, *SIFC* s. III 5 (1987), p. 5-36), was bypassed by the queen once she married Philadelphos: hence she preferred to be portrayed as Aphrodite. Artemis' cult is not very much attested in Alexandria, there is just an evidence for Artemis Soteira in Canopus (P.M. FRASER, *op. cit.* [n. 33], I, p. 196; on the Delos relief with Artemis see P. MORENO, *La scultura ellenistica*, Roma 1994, p. 329-332, fig. 415). Yet, Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* is surrounded by two *Hymns to Apollo* in which the similarities between the god and the Philadelphos are clear: is Artemis an image of Arsinoe? In the Goodspeed papyrus there is apparently a poem to Artemis/Hekate (col. X), but the remains are too scarce to speculate on its nature.

⁶⁹ The most recent evidence for it is the inscription with the name of a priest of Arsinoe, Onesitimus, who lived under Ptolemy VI (181-145 BC); M.-N. O 39, *ProsPtol* VI 15026; A. ANASTASSIADES, Ἀρσινόη Φιλαδέλφου. *Aspects of a Specific Cult in Cyprus*, *RDAC* 1998, p. 129-140 (137, 140); I. NICOLAOU, *Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae*, *RDAC* 32 (1992), p. 223-232 (228-229). The ruler cult in Cyprus was actively promoted by the army (A. CHANIOTIS, *art. cit.* [n. 52], p. 108).

⁷⁰ R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 51-66.

⁷¹ N. EHRHARDT, *Poliskulte bei Theokrit und Kallimachos: das Beispiel Milet, Hermes* 131 (2003), p. 269-289 (269-272, 286-789).

According to Strabo XIV 6.3, there were on Cyprus three towns named after queen Arsinoe⁷²:

1. One, on the south-east coast between Salamis and Leukolla⁷³, had a harbour and was located in an area devoted to the cult of Aphrodite. Strabo reports, before Salamis, the presence a temple of Aphrodite Acraea on Mount Olympus, forbidden to women; then, after Leucolla and Arsinoe, another promontory, Pedalion: above it, there was a high hill sacred to Aphrodite. Powell tentatively interpreted the μῦθος quoted in *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2 IV 5 as an allusion to the story of Iphis/Arceophon and Anasarete/Arsinoe set in Salamis, but the context of the hymn hardly support this guess⁷⁴.

2. Between Paphos and Ancient Paphos, on the west coast, near Cape Zephyrion, there was another Arsinoe⁷⁵, with a landing-place, a temple

⁷² [...] ἡ δ' ἀκρόρεια καλεῖται Ὀλυμπος, ἔχουσα Ἀφροδίτης Ἀκραίας ναόν, ἄδυτον γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀόρατον. [...] εἴτ' Ἀρσινόῃ πόλιν καὶ λιμῆν· εἴτ' ἄλλος λιμὴν Λευκόλλα· εἴτ' ἄκρα Πηδάλιον, ἧς ὑπέρεκειται λόφος τραχὺς ὕψηλός τε τραπεζοειδής, ἱερὸς Ἀφροδίτης, εἰς δὲ ἀπὸ Κλειδῶν στάδιοι ἐξακόσιοι ὀγδόκοντα· εἴτα κολπώδης καὶ τραχὺς παράπλους ὁ πλείων εἰς Κίτιον [...]. εἴτα πόλιν Κούριον ὄρμον ἔχουσα, Ἀργείων κτίσμα. [...]. ἀρχὴ δ' οὖν τοῦ δυσμικοῦ παράπλου τὸ Κούριον τοῦ βλέποντος πρὸς Ῥόδον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐστὶν ἄκρα ἀφ' ἧς ῥίπτουσι τοὺς ἀναμένους τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· εἴτα Τρήτα καὶ Βοδόσουρα καὶ Παλαίπαφος, ὅσον ἐν δέκα σταδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένη, ὕφορμον ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον τῆς Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης· εἴτ' ἄκρα Ζεφυρία πρόσορμον ἔχουσα, καὶ ἄλλη Ἀρσινόῃ ὁμοίως πρόσορμον ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄλσος· μικρὸν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης καὶ ἡ Ἱεροκηπία. εἴθ' ἡ Πάφος, κτίσμα Ἀγαπήνορος καὶ λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ἱερὰ εὐκατεσκευασμένα· διέχει δὲ πεζῇ σταδίου ἐξήκοντα τῆς Παλαιπάφου, καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων. [...] εἴθ' ὁ Ἀκάμας ἐστὶ μετὰ Πάφον· εἴτα πρὸς ἑω μετὰ τὸν Ἀκάμαντα πλοῦς εἰς Ἀρσινόην πόλιν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄλσος· εἴτα Σόλοι πόλιν λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ποταμὸν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἰσιδος. Information on the Cypriot harbours and recent excavations can be found at www2.rgzm.de/Navis2/Home/Frames.htm.

⁷³ G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 136-137, puts it near present-day Famagosta. Cf. also H. WATKIN Jr., *The Development of the Cities in Cyprus from the Archaic to the Roman Period*, PhD diss. Columbia Univ. 1988.

⁷⁴ Arsinoe, daughter of the local king, was turned to stone (Hermes., *Leont.* II *apud* Ant. Lib., *Met.* XXXIX, 759: «servat adhuc Salamis; Veneris quoque nomine templum prospicientis habet» = Ἀφροδίτῃ Παρακυπτούσα «Peeping Aphrodite», cf. R. WASHBOURNE, *Aphrodite Parakypousa 'The Woman at the Window'*, *RDAC* 1999, p. 163-177). The name of the two protagonists is different in the version of the same story presented by Plut., *Amat.* XX 12.766d (the woman is just the Παρακυπτούση) and by Ov., *Met.* XIV 98 ff. (Anaxarete). Since Cyprus was for centuries a centre for the cult of Arsinoe-Aphrodite, it should not be ruled out that the name of the local heroine could have been changed in that of queen Arsinoe II, common among the women of the place (cf. a similar case in Thespie in S. BARBANTANI, *art. cit.* [n. 52], p. 137-139, esp. 139 n. 43).

⁷⁵ G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 136.

and an *alsos*. Palaepaphus was situated at about ten stadia above the sea, had a mooring-place and an ancient temple of the Paphian Aphrodite. Between the two cities, distant about sixty stadia by land one from the other, every year took place a procession of men and women coming from the entire island.

3. Arsinoe Marion (Steph. Byz., *s.v.* *Arsinoe* and *s.v.* *Marion*; Diod. XIX 79.4; Strabo XIV 6.3, C683) was located between Soli and Paphos, on the north-west coast⁷⁶, in an area rich in timber for shipbuilding. The city was destroyed by Ptolemy I and founded again by Ptolemy Philadelphus as 'Arsinoe'⁷⁷. There are traces of an *Arsinoeion* and of a *canephoros* for the cult of the *Thea Philadelphos*⁷⁸; according to Strabo, there was also a sacred precinct of Zeus. In the nearby city of Soli stood a temple of Aphrodite and Isis.

There is no certain trace of a cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos as Aphrodite on Cyprus, but her cult as a divinized queen was widespread as much as that of the goddess of love. She was worshipped on the island as 'Brother-loving', a title stressing her position as a loyal wife and sister: she is called 'Adelphe' or 'Philadelphos' in the nymphaeum of Kafizin, near Nicosia, and 'Naïas' in Chytroi⁷⁹. An *Arsinoeion* was also built in Idalion, and altars to the deified queen have been found in Ammachostos, between Paphos and Palaipaphos. Dedications to Arsinoe Philadelphos are common in Paphos⁸⁰; in the temple of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos many offers and dedications with political significance have been found⁸¹.

On Cyprus some marble portraits of the queen have been discovered⁸², but the most widely known image of the Thea Philadelphos was her

⁷⁶ G.M. COHEN, *op. cit.* (n. 36), p. 134-135.

⁷⁷ L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 40), p. 155 ff., 162 and n. 1. On eponymous denominations of royal women see E.D. CARNEY, *Eponymous Women: Royal Women and City Names*, *AHB* 26 (1988), p. 134-142: the phenomenon implies the prestige of the dynasty, not that of a particular woman.

⁷⁸ Canephoros attested from 267/6 BC. See M.-N., A 151, p. 44 and Y 2: (Iamneia, 243/2 BC).

⁷⁹ For the dedicant, Aristokles of Alexandria, see M.-N., A 105. On Kafizin see T.B. MITFORD, *Kafizin and the Cypriot Syllabary*, *CQ* 44 (1950), p. 98-106; K. FRIIS JOHANSEN, *Weihinschriften aus dem Nymphenheiligtum des Kafizin Hügels*, *Dan. Arkaeol. Kunsthist. Medd.* 4.1 (1953); for Arsinoe-nymph cf. also *SH* 978 (S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* [n. 16], p. 51-52).

⁸⁰ L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 34), p. 175-210. G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, I. *To the Conquest by Richard Lion's Heart*, Cambridge 1972³, p. 12, 184-185; R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 48, 68-69, 72 n. 144.

⁸¹ E.g. the statue of the naval architect Pyrgoteles, offered by Ptolemy II (M.-N. P 74).

⁸² S.A. STEPHENS, *For you, Arsinoe...*, in B. ACOSTA-HUGHES – M. BAUMBACH – E. KOSMETATOU (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 161-176.

profile on coins, in particular the one appearing on the golden octadrachms with legend 'Arsinoe Philadelphos' minted at Salamis, Kition, Paphos⁸³. It has been suggested also that the Hellenistic iconography of Aphrodite Anadyomene could be linked to the development of the cult of Arsinoe II on Cyprus and Kos, two key-bases for the Ptolemaic control of the Mediterranean⁸⁴.

The cult of Arsinoe on Cyprus was kept alive thanks to regular contacts between local aristocracy and the Egyptian court, even though the islanders, as independent citizens, could organise their rites in total freedom. While in Alexandria the dynastic cult was directly controlled by the monarch, in Cyprus a loyal subject could build a temple for the royal cult and administer it on a local basis, on his own initiative⁸⁵. During the reign of Ptolemy IV, Cyprus was reorganised from the military and administrative point of view, and governors were sent from Alexandria; but even before that, entire families linked to the Alexandrian court made their careers on the island⁸⁶. Many governors of Cyprus and their relatives were royal priests, either in Alexandria or in local shrines. From Ptolemy V Epiphanes (203-197 BC) onwards, Cypriot cults, in particular ruler cult, were put under control of the central authority, the strategos, who became

⁸³ See H. KYRIELEIS, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 78-80 with plate 70. B. LICHOCKA, *La statue d'Aphrodite sur les monnaies de Ptolémée III*, in L. KAHIL – C. AUGÉ – P. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 311-322, thinks that Cypriot coins minted by Ptolemy III with the image of the Thea Philadelphos were related to the events narrated in Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*. On the iconography of Arsinoe's coins, see also A.R. PARENTE, *Ritrattistica e simbologia sulle monete di Arsinoe II*, *NumAntCl.* 31 (2002), p. 259-278.

⁸⁴ W. NEUMER-PFAU, *Studien zur Ikonographie und gesellschaftlichen Funktion hellenistischer Aphrodite-Statuen*, Bonn 1982, p. 383-384 n. 332 (following D.M. BRINKERHOFF, *Hellenistic Statues of Aphrodite*, New York 1978, p. 60ff.).

⁸⁵ R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* (n. 40), p. 69-70. E.g. Artemo, daughter of the strategos Seleukos, was priestess of Cleopatra Euergetis in 142-131 BC, but not in Egypt, while she was eponymous priestess of Arsinoe Philopator in Alexandria in 141-115 (W. CLARYSSE – G. VAN DER VEKEN – S.P. VLEEMING (eds.), *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (P. Lugd. Bat., 24), Leiden 1984, nos. 150-175); she is possibly daughter-in-law of Melankomas, magistrate in Kition, priest of the Gods Benefactors (*OGIS* 134; CLARYSSE, VAN DER VEKEN, VLEEMING no. 125). Onesandrus, a Paphian honored as συγγενής of Ptolemy IX Soter II, secretary in Paphos and librarian at Alexandria, is called «priest for life of the king» with reference to his position in Alexandria, but he is also priest in the *Ptolemaeion* which he had founded in Cyprus (*I. Hell. Paphos* 110).

⁸⁶ Boiskos, probably father of the admiral Callicrates (*ProsPtol* VI 15189), is honored with a statue in the temple of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos; he dedicated in Kition a statue of Berenike I (*OGIS* 20, R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* [n. 40], p. 49), around 294/290 BC.

therefore also ἀρχιερεύς⁸⁷, and received, starting from Ptolemy Makron (ca. 180 BC), the title of συγγενής of the king.

Could one of the three Cypriot 'Arsinoe' be quoted by Strabo a suitable place for a performance of the Goodspeed hymn to Arsinoe/Aphrodite? It is not possible of course to identify it with certainty, but there are some interesting coincidences. Some expressions of the hymn clearly refer to a feast involving the presence of wives, children and young men: II 1-2: σὺν δ' ἀλ[ό]χοις σεμναῖσ[ι] φίλαις καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους | σεμνοῖς ... μεγαλο[.] ὀρχησομαι [.].αε[.]νῃ. It could be a procession in which all the population is involved, like the annual *panegyris* from Paphos to Palaepaphos reported by Strabo XIV 6.3 C683. As noticed by G.B. D'Alessio, these lines recall the description of the Ionian theoria to Delos in *H.H.Ap.* III 148: αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν (in Thuc. III 104: σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐξ ἀγυιάν), and similar expressions to be found in hymns composed for festive occasions and in poems commemorating ἀπαντήσεις, in particular the elegy *IG*² II/III 3, no. 3606, 12-33: it describes a procession composed of Athenian citizens of all ages, coming out to welcome Herodes Atticus⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ The first known is Polykrates (R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* [n. 40], p. 253-255; M.-N., P 34, p. 13, 99ff.; L. MOOREN, *Ptolemaic Families*, in R.S. BAGNALL – G.M. BROWNE – A.E. HANSON – L. KOENEN [eds.], *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology, New York 24-31 July 1980*, Chico 1981, p. 289-301 [291-294]; G. HÖLBL, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London–New York 2001, p. 138-139). Another was Ptolemy of Megalopolis (197-180; *ProsPtol* VI 15068, 16944; M.-N., P 59; R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.*, p. 49, 255-256), whose daughter Eirene was priestess of Arsinoe Philopator (CLARYSSE – VAN DER VEKEN – VLEEMING, *op. cit.* [n. 85], nos. 92-120; L. MOOREN, *art. cit.*, p. 295-297).

⁸⁸ II. 12-35: all citizens are involved (ἕτας πάντας ὀμηγερέας, cf. Apoll. Soph., s.v. ἔται πολῖται, ἑταῖροι, συνήθεις): priests, priestesses, παῖδες, ἡιθέοι, then all the Athenians and the ξένοι. The inscription was first published by P. GRAINDOR, *Un épisode de la vie d'Hérode Atticus*, *MB* 16 (1912), p. 69-90, then by N. SVENSSON, *Réception solennelle d'Hérode Atticus (Inscription trouvée près de Marathon)*, *BCH* 1 (1926), p. 527-535, and I. KIRCHNER, *IG* II/III 3 (*Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*), Berolini 1935. See also U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF, *Marcellus von Side*, *SPAW* 1928, p. 3-30 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften* II. *Hellenistische, spätgriechische und lateinische Poesie*, Berlin 1941, p. 192-228) and *id.*, *Lesefrüchte* 249-266, *Hermes* 64 (1929), p. 489-490 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften* IV. *Lesefrüchte und Verwandtes*, Berlin 1962, p. 504-508); J.U. POWELL, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* III. *Some Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose of the Classical and Later Periods*, Oxford 1933, p. 190-195; last commentary and edition by W. AMELING, *Herodes Atticus I (Biographie)*, II (*Inchriften-katalog*), Hildesheim 1983, I, p. 150-151; II, p. 205-211. For the ceremony of the *adventus* see J. LEHNEN, *Adventus Principis. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des Imperium Romanum*, Frankfurt 1997.

It is still difficult to locate the ‘rocks’ in II 18. If the temple is that of Cape Zephyrion, as Fraser thought, the σκόπελοι could only be the half-submerged rocks off Alexandria, which the Pharos help to avoid. On the other hand, many temples dedicated to Aphrodite were located on cliffs falling on the sea, e.g., on Cyprus, the temple of Aphrodite Akraia on mount Olympos, or the sanctuary near Cape Pedalion⁸⁹, where the coast is rough (τραχύς; Strabo XIV 6.3 C682).

CYPRIOΤ TECHNITAI

P. Lit. Goodsp. 2 preserves a collection of different poems, not necessarily by the same author; most of them are too fragmentary to reveal their style. As for the hymn to Aphrodite-Arsinoe, it is impossible to identify its author. The presence of many ἄπαξ λεγόμενα and poorly attested words points to a Hellenistic date⁹⁰, but the frequent violation of Hermann’s bridge do not speak in favour of a very refined composition, so Callimachus (in spite of the allusive expression μῦθον μὲν παρελώμεθα, IV 8) and other Alexandrian *poetae docti* can be ruled out. There are no further clues pointing to Hedylyus, even though Strabo in his description of Cyprus recalls a fragment, doubtfully attributed to him⁹¹; or to Posidippus, in spite of his commitment to praise Ptolemaic monuments, in particular in honour of Arsinoe⁹².

⁸⁹ Pedalion = oar, cf. II 11 νηὼν τὸ πολυσσθενὲς ὄπλον. A. PALMA DI CESNOLA, *Salamina (Cipro)*, Firenze–Roma 1887, p. 134 (pl. XIII no. 17) lists pre-Hellenistic cylinders with personages holding probably a ship’s oar.

⁹⁰ Καρτερόεις, μυροβοστρυχόεις, σιδηρέοεις, ἰδανοχρόεις, λασιῶτις, σύσσορος, ὑπερέξοχος, χαρίτερπνος; cf. also παρηιάς, ἀναφυλάσσειν (new also: παρηιάς, ἀναφυλάσσειν).

⁹¹ Strabo XIV 6.3, C683: ἥδη οὖν πάρεστι σκοπεῖν τὴν ῥαθυμίαν τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἐλεγεῖον τοῦτο “οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἱερὰι τῷ Φοίβῳ, πολλὸν διὰ κύμα θεοῦσαι, ἤλθομεν αἱ ταχιναὶ τόξα φυγεῖν ἔλαφοι”, εἴθ’ Ἡδύλος ἐστὶν εἴθ’ ὅστισοῦν. «One may therefore see at once the carelessness of the poet who wrote the elegy that begins, “we hinds, sacred to Phoebus, racing across many billows, came hither in our swift course to escape the arrows of our pursuers” whether the author was Hedylyus or someone else».

⁹² See D.J. THOMPSON, *Posidippus, Poet of the Ptolemies*, Colloquium Cincinnati 2002, www.sunoikisis.org/Posidippo/notes/Thompson.pdf; J. BINGEN, *Posidippe: le poète et les princes*, in *Un poeta ritrovato: Posidippo di Pella*. Giornata di Studio 23 novembre 2001, Milano 2002, p. 47-59 (47-59); on the Hippika see M. FANTUZZI, *The Structure of the Hippika* in *P. Mil. Vogl. VIII* 309, in B. ACOSTA-HUGHES – M. BAUMBACH – E. KOSMETATOU (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 48), p. 212-224.

If not a learned poet, the author nonetheless could have been a professional. In the Hellenistic period, and later under the Roman empire, the demand for occasional poems had dramatically multiplied with the development of local and panhellenic cults and festivals. Professional poets, as well as *poetae docti* working at court, could gain international reputation competing in poetic contests sponsored by kings or by local civic aristocracies, presenting hymns and encomia for gods and kings⁹³; virtuosi could also perform singularly (ἐπίδειξις), as inscriptions from the beginning of the Christian era show: 'wandering poets' traveled from town to town, presenting, in local festivals, ἐγκώμια ἐπικά or λογικά in honor of the guest city, the local aristocrats and the ruler, or else a hymn to the patron god of the city. Technitai usually joined together in organised guilds, mostly under the protection of rulers, even though they usually did not live at court or work in royal Libraries.

In Egypt, as well as in Greece and in Asia Minor, associations of Technitai composed hundreds of such pieces a year for public occasions⁹⁴. During the reign of Ptolemy VIII Physkon, the Cypriot section of the Egyptian Guild of Dionysiac Technitai was created, or at least enhanced⁹⁵, with the goal of supporting Physkon's prestige on the island: in the last decades of II BC. Cyprus was in the turmoil of dynastic fights, therefore

⁹³ M. GUARDUCCI, *Poeti vaganti e conferenzieri dell'età ellenistica. Ricerche di epigrafia greca nel campo della letteratura e del costume*, MAL s. 6 II (1929), p. 629-665; J.U. POWELL – E.A. BARBER, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature II. Some Recent Discoveries in Greek Poetry and Prose, Chiefly of the Fourth Century B.C. and Later Times*, Oxford 1929, p. 35-46; A. CAMERON, *Wandering Poets: a Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt*, *Historia* 14 (1965), p. 470-509; M.R. PALLONE, *L'epica agonale in età ellenistica*, *Orpheus* 5 (1984), p. 156-166; A. CAMERON, *Callimachus and His Critics*, Princeton 1995, p. 44 ff.; S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 15-21. On Greek festivals in Roman Asia see O. VAN NUFF, *Athletics, Festivals and Greek Identity in the Roman East*, *PCPS* 45 (1999), p. 176-200.

⁹⁴ S. ANEZIRI, *Zwischen Muse und Hof: die dionysischen Techniten auf Zypern*, *ZPE* 104 (1994), p. 179-198 and EAD., *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine*, Stuttgart 2003, p. 115-120; B. LE GUEN, *Les associations de Technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, I: *Corpus documentaire*, II: *Synthèse*, Paris 2001; W.D. FURLEY – J.M. BREMER, *Greek Hymns. Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum, 9-10)*, Tübingen 2001, I, p. 24-25; J. LIGHTFOOT, *Nothing to do with the Technitai of Dionysos?*, in P. EASTERLING – E. HALL (eds.), *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge 2002, p. 209-237.

⁹⁵ Foundation under Ptolemy VIII according to B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 94), I, p. 303 n. 922. See also S. ANEZIRI, *art. cit.* (n. 94) and *op. cit.* (n. 94), p. 119-120; B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.*, I, p. 302-303; II, p. 35-36, 62. The Technitai existed in Egypt since the reign of Ptolemy II (B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.*, II, TE 60 and TE 61; S. ANEZIRI, *op. cit.*, p. 109-112).

its position as a Ptolemaic stronghold in the Eastern Mediterranean was carefully strengthened, and its links with the court reinforced. The ten extant inscriptions of the Guild show its relationship with the Alexandrian court: among its members and benefactors there were civil servants, Ptolemaic officials and Cypriot magistrates, priests of the ruler cult, many of them honoured with statues in the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos⁹⁶.

It is not possible to identify the author of the Goodspeed hymn among the Ptolemaic Technitai. Some of them, like Artemidorus, Demarchus, Theogenes⁹⁷, are listed as 'epic poets', and could have written hymns and encomia for the Ptolemies or their allies: after all, among the early Egyptian Technitai, Philicus composed a hymn to Demeter (*SH* 678-680). Among the extant lists of Cypriot Technitai no one is explicitly qualified as 'epic poet' or *hymnographos*; we know a μελοποιός, who was also an epigrammatist: Antisthenes of Paphos, who competed with Antipater of Sidon for a poem for the banker Philostratos⁹⁸. But a hymn for a local deity could also have been composed by a wandering poet, or by a foreign erudite interested in local traditions⁹⁹.

GENRE AND PERFORMANCE

Powell first associated the Goodspeed hymn with the not easily defined sub-genre «hymn in praise of city and places»¹⁰⁰. The hymn or encomium

⁹⁶ Cf. B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 94), II, TE 67, 68, 69, 70. Technitai honor πρότοι φίλοι of the king, like Theodoros (TE 62, and his wife, TE 63), Nikagoras, (TE 64), the strategos Helenos, συγγενής and tutor of Ptolemy X (TE 65). During the difficult reign of Ptolemy VIII, twenty-five honorific inscriptions were dedicated to Cypriot strategoi, including Theodoros and Helenos: Theodoros' daughter was priestess of Arsinoe Philopator (R.S. BAGNALL, *op. cit.* [n. 40], p. 259-260; M.-N., Q 13). Helenos (*ProsPtol* VI 15041) is identified by M.-N., E 5, as priest of «Cleopatra Thea Aphrodite and Philometor».

⁹⁷ They are listed in TE 61 (ca. 246 BC) in B. LE GUEN, *op. cit.* (n. 94), II, p. 61-62.

⁹⁸ M.-N., A 54; W. PEEK, *Antipater von Sidon und Antisthenes von Paphos, Philologus* 101 (1957), p. 101-113; L. ARGENTIERI, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 29, 33. He wrote an elegy for Simalos of Salamis (M.-N., S 13). Epigram by Antipatros: *HE* XLII, I. *Délos* 2549.

⁹⁹ E.g. it is now believed that Callimachus could have known first hand about Cretan cults (A. CHANIOTIS, *Ein Alexandrinischer Dichter und Kreta. Mythische Vergangenheit und gegenwärtige Kultpraxis bei Kallimachos*, in S. BOEHM – K.-V. VON EICKSTEDT [eds.], *ITHAKE. Festschrift für J. Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25. April 2001*, Würzburg 2001, p. 213-217) and other local traditions.

¹⁰⁰ J.U. POWELL, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 121. Ptolemaic encomia: Herod., *Mim.* I 26-83; *Encomium Alexandreae* in Sotadaean metre in *P. Gron.* inv. 66 (II AD), for a competition? (I.H.M. HENDRIKS – P.J. PARSONS – K.A. WÖRPER, *Papyri from the Groningen Collection I: Encomium Alexandreae*, *ZPE* 41, 1981, p. 71-83; R. KASSEL, *Lob Alexandriens* [*P. Gron.*

for a city (in lyric or in epic verses) is now rarely attested, but it was surely very lively in the Hellenistic and Roman period, when the autonomy of the cities and their local traditions were supported by dynastic rulers and by local aristocracies. Praise of places, whether disguised as a hymn to the local god or in the humble form of an epigram, was probably a genre cherished by poets aiming to gain honors from a city or a sanctuary (Posidippus was possibly an early example, *IG IX 12 i*, 17A; *FdD III3*, 192; cf. the epigraphic *Paean to Dionysus*, by Philodamus, recipient of Delphic proxenia: *CA*, p. 162-170).

The first poem of *P. Lit. Goodsp.* 2, whatever the occasion for which it was composed, seems to praise the 'ancient name' of a city Arsinoe, and its divine patroness. The recently discovered epigraphic poem in praise of Halikarnassus lists the intellectual glories of the city and boasts proudly its origin; now dated to I BC¹⁰¹ this poem in elegiacs could be contemporary to the hymn to Aphrodite-Arsinoe, even though the Halikarnassian elegy seem to be composed by a more skilled and ambitious poet¹⁰². In both compositions is underlined the 'legitimate' side of Aphrodite, represented in the elegy for Halikarnassus by her son Hermaphroditus, *πρῶτος εἰρητής* of wedlock together with the local nymph Salmakis¹⁰³: it is possibly active here an influence of Ptolemaic royal

inv. 66], *ZPE* 42, 1981, p. 26). Later examples: *Hymn to Rome* by Melinno (*SH* 541); see also I. GALLI CALDERINI, *L'epigramma greco tardoantico: tradizione e innovazione*, *Vichiana* 16 (1987), p. 103-134 (125), and EAD., *Retorica e realtà negli epigrammi di Agazia Scolastico*, *AAP N.S.* 41 (1992), p. 113-127 (119-120). More common are the examples in prose, among which the epigraphic encomium of Ephesos in M. DEBRUNNER HALL, *The Reluctant Rhetor. A Recently Published Inscription from Late Imperial Ephesos*, *ZPE* 91 (1991), p. 121-128; cf. Dio Chr., *Ad Alexandrinos* (*Or.* 32); Ael. Arist. 14 Dindorf (to Rome).

¹⁰¹ SGO I, 01/12/02; S. ISAGER, *The Pride of Halicarnassus. Editio Princeps of an Inscription from Salmakis*, *ZPE* 123 (1998), p. 1-23; H. LLOYD-JONES, *The Pride of Halicarnassus*, *ZPE* 124 (1999), p. 1-14 and ID., *The Pride of Halicarnassus. Corrigenda and addenda*, *ZPE* 127 (1999), p. 63-65; C. AUSTIN, *Notes on the Pride of Halicarnassus*, *ZPE* 126 (1999), p. 92; M. GIGANTE, *Il nuovo testo epigrafico di Alicarnasso*, *A&R N.S.* 44 (1999), p. 1-13, and *Il poeta di Salmacide e Filodemo di Gadara*, *ZPE* 126 (1999), p. 91-92; *The Salmakis Inscription and Hellenistic Halikarnassos (Bodrum, Tyrkiet 29 Aug.-2 Sept. 2000)* (*Halikarnassian Studies*, IV), Odense 2004. The elegy was first attributed to Heraclitus, friend of Callimachus (SGO I, p. 45); Isager suggested Lycophron; according to H. LLOYD-JONES, *art. cit.*, p. 13, it is the case of «a competent but hardly very distinguished local poet», possibly hired by the city during the Mithridatic Wars; Gigante underlined stylistic analogies between this elegy and Philodemus.

¹⁰² Lloyd-Jones noticed a similarity between the *incipit* of the elegy and Call., *Ep.* 5,1-2 Pfeiffer, a dedication of a shell in the temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite Zephyritis.

¹⁰³ On the anthropological motives for this interpretation of the myth see G. RAGONE, *L'iscrizione di Kaplan Kalesi e la leggenda afrodisia di Salmacide*, *Studi Ellenistici* 13 (2001), p. 75-119.

ideology, even though there is no evidence that the local Aphrodite, honoured since the IV century, was another hypostasis of Arsinoe II¹⁰⁴.

The doubt that the Goodspeed hymn could be just a literary poem, not conceived for an oral performance on a public occasion, still remains. Learned exercises, like some of Callimachus' hymns, are better understood as encomiastic compositions to be circulated in writing (or recited in the relatively restricted environment of the court) rather than as a cultic poems for religious ceremonies¹⁰⁵. Lately Hunter and Further¹⁰⁶ pointed out that the Ptolemies saw an encomiastic potential in the hymnic genre, and they probably encouraged it in their most talented poets, like Callimachus. In Hellenistic hymns, the boundaries between mortal and divine are very subtle, so the poet can experiment with praise of both within the same generic form: the boundaries within genres — hymn and encomium — become ambiguous as the nature of the ruler (god, hero and mortal, cf. Posid. 63.9 A.-B.: ἐκ Πτολεμαίου δ' ὅδε θεοῦ θ' ἅμα καὶ βασιλῆος)¹⁰⁷. Even if the hymn to Arsinoe-Aphrodite was composed for a local celebration, and for a long-deceased eponymous queen, the lesson of the Cyrenaean *poeta doctus* has been well assimilated.

Whatever the origin and the actual performance of the hymns transcribed on *P. Goodspeed*, they survived the occasion for which they were conceived for centuries. This is not due to the fame of their author:

¹⁰⁴ A local dedication to Arsinoe, Isis and Sarapis: *OGIS* 16; F. DUNAND, *op. cit.* (n. 53), III, p. 33-34. Also at Halikarnassos the goddess was honored as *Euploia* (A. LAUMONIER, *Les cultes indigènes de Carie*, Paris 1958, p. 625-626: dedication to Aphrodite by a merchant [*JHS* 16 (1896), p. 217, no. 5]).

¹⁰⁵ W.D. FURLEY, *Types of Greek Hymns*, *Eos* 81 (1993), p. 21-41; W.D. FURLEY – J.M. BREMER, *op. cit.* (n. 94), I, p. 41-50. Hellenistic literary compositions, like Callimachus' hymns, can reproduce some features of 'liturgic' hymns (R. PRETAGOSTINI, *Rito e letteratura negli Inni 'drammatici' di Callimaco*, in *L'inno tra rituale e letteratura nel mondo antico*, *AION* 13, 1991, p. 253-263; A.W. BULLOCH, *The Future of a Hellenistic Illusion. Some Observations on Callimachus and Religion*, *MH* 41, 1984, p. 209-230). On the court as a theater for performances of *poetae docti* and encomiastic poets see S. BARBANTANI, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 36-49, with bibliography. On Hellenistic hymns see F. PORDOMINGO, *La poesía himnico-cultural de época helenística e imperial. Estado de la investigación y recientes hallazgos*, in L. GIL – R.M. AGUILAR (eds.), *Apophoreta philologica Emmanuelli Fernández-Galiano a sodalibus oblata I*, *Estudios Clásicos* 26 (1), Madrid 1984, p. 383-391; L. CADILI, *L'inno in età ellenistica*, *RIL* 129 (1995), p. 483-505.

¹⁰⁶ R. HUNTER – T. FUHRER, *op. cit.* (n. 66), p. 144.

¹⁰⁷ R. HUNTER – T. FUHRER, *op. cit.* (n. 66), p. 167-169. Kings are both divine and mortals protected by the gods, with whom they share some characteristics. Other interesting remarks on Callimachus' *Hymns* and Graeco-Egyptian interpretation of royalty are in S.A. STEPHENS, *Seeing Double. Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 2002, Ch. II.

anonymous hymns have been handed down for centuries in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean, e.g. the epigraphic version of the *Paeon to Asklepius* from Erythrai (IV BC) found in Dion (Macedonia) and Ptolemais (II AD), or the Isis aretalogies, dependent on proto-Hellenistic models¹⁰⁸.

A final important remark. One of the most striking characteristics of the Chicago papyrus is a substantial group of orthographic peculiarities in such a high concentration, which until now has no parallels, neither in the papyri nor in epigraphic documents¹⁰⁹. It is still difficult to explain these features: they may be due to the purpose for which the text was copied, or simply due to a particular scribe.

Recently it has been suggested that the text on this papyrus could have been a model for a *lapidarius* ('graveur')¹¹⁰. The relationship between the papyrus and an epigraphic text could just as well be turned around: the papyrus could be a private copy of a text taken directly from an inscription. Many Greek hymns, even quite long, to be performed in rituals, were engraved in stone, and have survived *in situ* for centuries, because of their original cultic nature. But such an hypothesis, though fascinating, is purely speculative: after all, these orthographic peculiarities are not just typical of inscriptions. Nor are they confined to a particular dialectal area, therefore they offer no clue to the place where the hymns were copied. What is clear, however, is that the person who transcribed them in the II century AD was concerned with particular consonant clusters, as if he was trying to guide his readers to a correct pronunciation. This may suggest that this copy, or better its *antigraphon*, was created for a performance, even though, probably, not for the same occasion for which the hymns were originally composed.

What then is *P. Lit. Goodsp. 2*? A copy for cultic performances? A private copy of Ptolemaic hymns once performed in royal cult, possibly engraved in stone in a temple of a *polis* (Arsinoe, Alexandria, or in

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also the *Paeon to Asklepios* by Isyllos in Epidauros, Makedonios' *Paeon to Apollo and Asklepios* (CA, 136-139), and the Isis hymn by Isidoros quoted above. For the aretalogies see above, note 60.

¹⁰⁹ I have discussed the subject in depth in S. BARBANTANI, *The Orthography of the 'Ptolemaic hymns' of P. Lit. Goodspeed 2 and the Occasion of their Performance*, in *Proceedings of the XXIVth Congress of Papyrologists, Helsinki 1-7 August 2004*, forthcoming, and in *art. cit.* (n. 2).

¹¹⁰ F. PORDOMINGO, *Vers une caractérisation des anthologies sur papyrus*, in H. HARAUER – B. PALME (eds.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Wien 18-22/7/2001* (forthcoming).

another city of the Ptolemaic kingdom)? The Goodspeed papyrus keeps its secrets. What is likely, however, is that these hymns were transcribed until the II-III centuries AD, independently from their cultic nature, for their link with the religious feelings of the Graeco-Egyptian population and their still strong 'Ptolemaic' culture.

Milano

Silvia BARBANTANI

PRODIGIES AT PRIVERNUM

A NOTE ON CICERO, *DIV.* I 97

Abstract: This paper aims to show that the usually accepted dating of the prodigy mentioned in Cic., *div.* I 97 does not fit the historical context evoked by the source. A different dating is tentatively proposed.

Making the case for the reliability of the *libri Sibyllini*, within the broader plea for divination he develops in the first book of the *De diuinatione*, Cicero refers to several episodes of the political and religious history of Rome (Cicero, *div.* I 97, ed. Timpanaro):

quotiens senatus decemuiros ad libros ire iussit! quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsis haruspicum paruit! nam et cum duo uisi soles essent, et cum tres lunae, et cum faces, et cum sol nocte uisus esset, et cum e caelo fremitus auditus, et cum caelum discessisse uisum esset atque in eo animaduersi globi. delata etiam ad senatum labes agri Priuernatis, cum ad infinitam altitudinem terra desidisset Apuliaque maximis terrae motibus conquassata esset. quibus portentis magna populo Romano bella perniciosaeque seditiones denuntiabantur, inque his omnibus responsa haruspicum cum Sibyllae uersibus congruebant.

How many times the Senate has ordered the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books! How numerous and how important are the matters on which it has obeyed the responses of the haruspices! Indeed, [*scil.*: that was the case] when at one time two suns and, at another, three moons, were seen; when meteors were seen; when the sun was seen at night; when rumblings were heard in the sky; when the sky seemed to divide and balls [of fire?] were seen in it. Again, the subsidence at Privernum was reported to the Senate, when the land had sunk to an immense depth and Apulia was shaken by the most violent earthquakes. With these portents the Roman people were warned of wars and deadly revolutions, and in all these cases the responses of the haruspices were in agreement with the Sibylline verses.

Quibus portentis is likely to refer to the whole series of events anticipating a war and/or a civil strife (cf. *inque his omnibus*): this paper, however, will focus only on the dating of the last prodigy. The syntactic structure of the text makes it clear that Cicero thought the earthquakes that involved all Apulia and the sinking of the ground in the territory of Privernum to be contemporaneous; or rather, that what happened at Privernum

was the consequence of an earthquake whose epicentre was further south. It seems safe to argue that the seismic events were not accompanied by the other prodigies mentioned before. *Etiam*, here referring to *delata*, rather than to *ad senatum*, marks a clear difference between a series of recurrent episodes and a single remarkable event, which was reported to the Senate and happened to be interpreted in the same way both by the Sibylline Books and by the haruspices¹.

Modern scholars usually date the subsidence at Privernum and the series of earthquakes in Apulia to the last quarter of the second century BC². The argument is based on two passages of Julius Obsequens' *De prodigiis*, both referring to seismic events in the area of Privernum. In 117 BC, *Priverni terra septem iugerum spatio in cauerna desedit*; in 113 BC, *terra in Lucanis et Priuernati late hiauit*. It is usually assumed that the chronology of the undated episode mentioned by Cicero must correspond to that of one of the two prodigies recorded by Obsequens. The likeliest episode to relate to the earthquake mentioned in the *De diuinatione* would be the second one, as Cicero refers to an event affecting a wider area, including Apulia, which Obsequens may easily have confused (or conflated) with

¹ For this use of *etiam*, see *TLL* V 2.933 (two examples in Cicero). I am implicitly founding my argument on the distinction between «prodigi ripetuti» and «prodigi singoli» drawn by S. TIMPANARO, *Cicerone. Della divinazione*, Milan 1988, p. 304. Timpanaro's translation is fully convincing: «Quante volte il senato ordinò ai decemviri di consultare i libri sibillini!... Ogni volta che si videro due soli, e tre lune, e fiamme nell'aria; ogni volta che il sole apparve di notte, e giù dal cielo si sentirono dei rumori sordi e sembrò che la volta celeste si fendesse, e in essa apparvero dei globi. Fu anche annunziato al senato il franamento del territorio di Priverno ...». *Contra*, e.g., the translation provided by G. FREYBURGER – J. SCHEID, *Cicéron. De la divination*, Paris 1992: «On annonça même au sénat un affaissement du territoire de Priverne ...», and that offered by J. KANY-TURPIN, *Cicéron. De la divination*, Paris 2004: «On rapporta même au Sénat un effondrement de territoire à Priverne ...».

² P.L. WÜLKER, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern. Studien zur Geschichte und Überlieferung der Staatsprodigien*, Diss. Leipzig 1903, p. 18, 23, 89, 99; B. MACBAIN, *Prodigy and Expiation. A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome*, Ann Arbor–London 1975, p. 97; S. TIMPANARO, *ed. cit.*, p. 304; E. GUIDOBONI, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the 10th century*, Rome 1994, p. 154–155; S.W. RASMUSSEN, *Public Portents in Republican Rome* (*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Suppl.* 34), Rome 2003, p. 94. A.S. PEASE (ed.), *M. Tulli Ciceronis de divinatione liber primus*, Urbana 1920, p. 270, takes no stand on this problem. A different hypothesis is put forward by G. RADKE, art. *Privernum*, *RE* XXIII 1 (1957), col. 16, who dates the prodigy to the background of the Cimbric war, but fails to discuss it further. It is unclear why J. KANY-TURPIN, *op. cit.*, p. 343 n. 254, claims that the Senate received two reports, one on the earthquake in Apulia and another on the landslide at Privernum, «malgré ce que laisse supposer la construction de la phrase».

Lucania³. Yet, a look at the historical context may encourage one to consider a different scenario.

On the occasion mentioned by Cicero, the Senate decided to consult the *decemviri s. f.* only about the unusual geological phenomenon that occurred at Privernum (*labes agri Priuernatis*). Cicero's statement that the consultation of the Sibylline Books was a recurrent fact in the Roman Republic appears to be accurate. It is true that, as far as the list of public prodigies shows, there are only a few cases of consultation of the Books in the Late Republic. However, this is not to be explained by a decline of this feature of Roman religion: the surviving books of Livy show that, down to 167 BC, the Books were consulted on a regular basis⁴. Lack of evidence for the subsequent period does not mean that things changed in this respect. The absence of any reference in Obsequens' epitome is no proof of a less frequent use of the Sibylline Books in the Late Republic, at least until their destruction in the fire of 83 BC.

Like all main aspects of Roman religion, the Sibylline Books could be, and actually were, exploited in the political battlefield. It is in this light that, for instance, Diels viewed the opening of the Books in 125 BC as an attempt to rebuild political consensus in the divisive phase following the insurrection at Fregellae⁵. The response of the Books after the events of Privernum, as we understand it in Cicero's outline, fitted such a pattern, since it was a warning of the risk of war and civil strife. As Cicero specifies, the same prediction was expressed, independently, by the *haruspices*, who often proved themselves willing, and able, to exploit the political weight of their responses⁶.

The first criterion to determine the chronology of the episode is trying to detect a period in which there was an actual risk of insurrections and/or

³ It is worth noting that the Sibylline Books were opened in 114 BC for a different reason, when the illicit relationships of three Vestales with three *equites* were discovered: see H.W. PARKE, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecies in Classical Antiquity*, London–New York 1988, p. 205.

⁴ The lists compiled by B. MACBAIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 82–106, and S.W. RASMUSSEN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 53–116, provide the relevant evidence.

⁵ Cf. H. DIELS, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin 1890, p. 17–18. Also cf. Cicero, *div.* II 110–112.

⁶ It has been suggested that, in *div.* I 97–98, Cicero used a source which made the case for the reliability of haruspical response by referring to several parallel Sibylline oracles: cf. B. MACBAIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 21. It may be suggested that Cicero derived the information from a source which was familiar to Livy, and indirectly to Obsequens too: both Cicero and Obsequens use the verb *desido*, which also occurs in another passage of Livy dealing with an earthquake at Velitrae (XXXII 9.3: further references in *TLL* V 1.713). However, this is irrelevant for the dating of the episodes mentioned by Cicero.

external threats. From the point of view of internal politics, the two decades between the death of Gaius Gracchus and the end of the second century BC were the least troubled of the whole century resulting in the Roman revolution. The scene was firmly dominated by the Optimates, then led by the Metelli; their supremacy was virtually unrivalled, although they went through some hard times, for instance in 120-119. The rise of Gaius Marius was steady, but it took place through the major military achievements of the Numidian and the Cimbric wars, without an open conflict with the Optimates taking place at that stage⁷. One would always like our knowledge of Roman politics in the Late Republic to be more detailed, and arguments *e silentio* should always be advanced cautiously; however, it is significant that none of the available literary sources mentions episodes of political violence in Rome between 121 and 101. Although there was some degree of factional conflict, which is well represented by the political use of the criminal courts, tension never brought about a traumatic clash⁸. As it is well known, civil unrest was to be again, if briefly, awakened just at the very end of the century by the initiatives of the tribunes Glaucia and Saturninus. However, as far as we know, neither in 117 nor in 113 was there any reason to foretell, or to foresee, imminent «wars and(/or) dangerous seditions», not even the war against Jugurtha — and no matter how loosely we interpret the reference to *bella perniciosaeque seditiones*. In fact, there is no serious historical argument supporting the traditional dating.

So much for the negative part of this discussion: let us try to establish whether another chronology may be suggested more persuasively. The evidence we have for the use of the Sibylline Books in the late Republic is often unclear and usually isolated⁹. In this case, however, a link, if tenuous, can be suggested between the above mentioned passage of Cicero and a fragmentary, often overlooked source. Licinianus is the only author to record the consultation of the Books in 87 BC (XXXV 1-2 ed. Criniti)¹⁰:

⁷ About this phase of Marius' political career, see E. GABBA, *Mario e Silla*, in *ANRW* I 1, Berlin-New York 1972, p. 769-771, 777-778.

⁸ The outline provided by E.S. GRUEN, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts, 149-78 B.C.*, Cambridge (MA) 1968, p. 106-135, is still fundamental. However, in 120-119 BC Optimate supremacy went through a remarkable, if short, crisis, which revealed some of its weaknesses: cf. E. BADIEN, *P. Decius P.f. Subulo. An Orator of the Time of the Gracchi*, *JRS* 46 (1956), p. 91-96.

⁹ Cf. H.W. PARKE, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 137-139.

¹⁰ See B. SCARDIGLI, *Grani Liciniani Reliquiae*, Florence 1983, p. 61-65.

<senatui, qui censebat nihil> ipsum facere nisi quod illa suasisse<n>t placuit, id quod numquam alias pro collegio, quid in libri fatalibus script<um> esset, palam recitare. constabat notari carmine Cinna sexque tribunis patria pulsus tranquillum otium et securitatem futuram.

Since it thought that he [*scil.* Marcus Octavius] was doing just what the circumstances suggested to do, the Senate decided to read out in public what was written in the Sibylline books; in the past, such a decision had always been taken only by the *collegium* [*scil.* of the *decemviri*]. From the text it appeared that there would be complete stability and safety after the expulsion of Cinna and of six tribunes of the plebs from the city.

The events that led the Senate to take this decision are not attested in the extant part of the text. At any rate, the decision to open the Books was taken soon after the removal of Cinna from the consulship and on the eve of the *bellum Octavianum*, the war between the supporters of Cinna and Marius and those of the Optimates, led by Marcus Octavius, Cinna's colleague in the consulship. Sulla was then in the East, fighting the Mithridatic war¹¹. As we are told elsewhere by Cicero himself, in 87 BC several other prodigies were reported, prompting political controversy¹². At first glance, the short account of the response reported by Licinianus seems to display an important difference from that reported by Cicero in *div.* I 97: according to Licinianus' text, the Books foretold a peaceful future after Cinna's removal from office, while in the circumstance recorded by Cicero they predicted an imminent conflict. This discrepancy, however, can be explained quite easily. Firstly, neither Licinianus nor Cicero report the actual reading of the Books' responses, which they just paraphrase: they ought not to be taken literally. Moreover, the nature itself of the Sibylline oracles warns us against dealing with them by using

¹¹ See H. BENNETT, *Cinna and His Times. A Critical and Interpretative Study of Roman History during the Period 87-84 B.C.*, Menasha 1923, p. 8-9; a recent account of this political phase is in M. LOVANO, *The Age of Cinna: Crucible of Late Republican Rome* (*Historiae, Einzelschriften* 158), Stuttgart 2002, p. 32-39. L. BREGLIA PULCI DORIA, *Oracoli sibillini tra rituali e propaganda* (*Studi su Flegonte di Tralles*), Naples 1983, p. 295, argues that the Books mentioned by Licinianus may be the Etruscan *libri fatales*, but fails to find any evidence for that.

¹² On the series of prodigies which took place in 87 BC, cf. Cicero, *div.* I 4. Cicero, *nat. deor.* II 14, and Plin., *NH* II 92, refer to the appearance of a comet in 87 BC, which was seen as a premonition of disasters. There is no reason, however, to view it as the prodigy which led to the opening of the Books. A.S. PEASE, *M. Tulli Ciceronis de natura deorum libri secundus et tertius*, Cambridge (MA) 1958, p. 58, accepts the hypothesis that it was Halley's comet, which was in perihelion on 15 August 87.

too restrictive a code. The symbolic and evocative nature of these texts made it possible to use them even if they did not contain any explicit reference to a present crisis. In the case reported by Licinianus, it is likely that the Books just referred to an imminent danger for the State that had to be removed in order to restore peace and tranquillity; failure to do that would have triggered unrest and war. The mention of a current threat and the prediction of future turmoil were closely related to each other.

The oracle made public after the earthquake at Privernum may well have had a similar structure, foretelling a war and/or a civil strife and predicting, at the same time, that it would end only with the complete defeat of the forces that would generate it. Such a response would have made little sense in a period like 117 or 113 BC, whereas it would have been perfectly intelligible in a crisis like that of 87 BC. The parallel evidence we have for the latter period makes it a good candidate for a new dating. In this light, Cicero's reference to *bella perniciosaeque seditiones* would be fully intelligible: by *bella*, he may have meant the *bellum Octavianum* and the later war between Cinna and Sulla, whereas, by *seditiones*, he may have referred to the insurrections provoked by Cinna and his associates before the war against Octavius, to the presence of slaves (gathered both by Cinna and Marius) in the militias of the *populares*, or to the massacres which took place, in Rome and elsewhere, after the defeat of the Optimates.

We already have a quite rich list of prodigies that took place in the territory of Privernum and were presented to the expertise of Roman priests¹³. Adding a new one, rather than making sources fit with the attested dates, would not be problematic. The rhetorical needs of this section of the *De diuinatione* also encourage one to look for a more 'memorable date' than 117 and 113 BC. Whatever views one may have on the structure of the *De diuinatione* and on Cicero's actual views on divination, it is easy to admit that it was in the interest of Cicero to refer to an important and easily recognisable episode of Roman political life. An example chosen from a crucial moment like 87 BC would make the argument stronger and the task of the reader simpler.

To sum up: interpretation of prodigies was an important aspect of political struggle in 87 BC, and it is likely, though far from certain, that the prodigy reported from Privernum and mentioned by Cicero belongs in

¹³ See P.L. WÜLKER, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 99; B. MACBAIN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 10, 115.

this context. At any rate, it definitely must not be confused with the portents reported by Obsequens for 117 and 113 BC¹⁴.

University College London

Federico SANTANGELO
f.santangelo@ucl.ac.uk

¹⁴ I am very grateful to Michael Crawford, John North and the Editorial Board of *Ancient Society* for helpful comments and criticism. Responsibility for any mistakes and inaccuracies remains mine.

HEROD THE GREAT AND THE COPPER MINES OF CYPRUS

Abstract: A famous but in some respects obscure passage in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (XVI 4.5) mentions an exchange of gifts between Augustus and King Herod of Judaea in 12 BC, the latter receiving «half the revenue from the copper mines of Cyprus» while being entrusted with «the management of the (other?) half». The text shows that the *princeps* (not the republic) was regarded as the legal owner of the mines of what was at the time a public province. According to the interpretation given here, Josephus' wording should mean that Herod was entrusted with the responsibility for (and maintenance of) *all* the copper mines on the island (not only those of Soloi or Tamassos), taking *half* the revenue extracted from them. There is not the slightest indication that Jews were particularly involved in their king's Cypriot business. Augustus' donation was not part of a leasing contract (supposedly in exchange for the 300 talents given by Herod) but has to be understood in the sense of a Hellenistic *dôrea*, implying all the characteristics of a Roman *precarium*.

In many studies on ancient Cyprus as well as in some more elaborate tourist guides¹ mention is made of an important gift by Caesar Augustus to his loyal friend Herod the Great (41/37-4 BC)². Rendered in numerous sometimes contradictory variants, the story basically holds that at a certain moment the king of Judaea received a substantial share of the revenues from the Cypriot copper mines. The anecdotal, somewhat fairy-like nature of the donation, enhanced by the ominous notoriety of its beneficiary³, never fails to catch the attention of the average reader, curious

¹ In a recent article I have tried to show how influential tourist guides can be in the transmission, diffusion, and even (re)shaping of historical knowledge and (mis)interpretation: see H. HAUBEN, *Christ versus Apollo in Early Byzantine Kourion? With a Note on the so-called 'Panayia Aphroditissa' in Paphos*, in: *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek Patristic and Byzantine Texts presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (edd. B. JANSSENS – B. ROOSEN – P. VAN DEUN) (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 137), Leuven-Paris-Dudley (MA) 2004, p. 269-284, esp. 275 with n. 37.

² On Herod the Great, his background and policy, see the recent overviews by K. BRINGMANN, art. *Herodes* 1, in: *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998), col. 458-460, and M. SARTRE, *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique. IV^e siècle avant J.-C. – III^e siècle après J.-C.*, Paris 2001, p. 530-536, with relevant bibliography p. 530-531 n. 6.

³ Several guides, when referring in this connection to Herod, remind the reader of the notorious (in fact probably legendary) massacre of the Innocents (thus K.K. KESHISHIAN, *Romantic Cyprus*, Nicosia 1993¹⁷, p. 245; A. SCHNEIDER, *Zypern. 8000 Jahre Geschichte:*

about all kinds of royalty stories. The scholar, on his part, always hopes — in vain — to finally get a satisfactory explanation of what really happened as well as a better general insight into the way in which the mines of Cyprus were managed and exploited.

In fact, our information is based on a single and brief passage in the XVIth book of Flavius Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (XVI 4.5 [128⁴]). Its context⁵, not always sufficiently taken into account, is very important. It concerns a dramatic confrontation between Herod (supported at the time by his malicious elder son Antipater) and the young princes Aristobulus and Alexander. The meeting took place in Aquileia, or perhaps in Rome⁶, in the presence of the «Saviour of all mankind»⁷. Showing much patience and diplomacy, the latter managed to reconcile, at least temporarily⁸, the paranoid tyrant with his younger sons, who sought revenge for the execution of their mother Mariamme I in 29 BC.

To celebrate this happy and glorious occasion, the happy suzerain and his even more glorious vassal proceeded in the next days to an exchange of lavish gifts. The date of the meeting and the subsequent exchange is not completely sure, but most scholars assign them to the year 12 BC⁹, in fact

Archäologische Schätze, Byzantinische Kirchen, Gotische Kathedralen [Kunst-Reiseführer in der Reihe DuMont Dokumente], Köln 1988, 1993³, p. 47) or simply of the king's biblical links (M. DUBIN – D. MORRIS, *The Rough Guide to Cyprus*, London-New York 2002⁴, p. 278).

⁴ Or 129 in the edition of I. BEKKER – S.A. NABER, *Flavii Iosephi Opera omnia*, IV (Teubner), Lipsiae 1893, p. 21.

⁵ *Ant. Iud.* XVI 87-130; cf. *Bell. Iud.* I 452-466.

⁶ Aquileia: *Ant. Iud.* XVI 91; Rome: *Ant. Iud.* XVI 106, *Bell. Iud.* I 452.

⁷ *Ant. Iud.* XVI 105.

⁸ Aristobulus and Alexander were executed in 7 BC. Antipater would meet the same fate three years later.

⁹ See A. SCHALIT, *König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk* (*Studia Judaica*, 4), Berlin 1969, p. 251 n. 354-355; p. 594-595; E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)*. A New English Version revised and edited by G. VERMES & F. MILLAR, I, Edinburgh 1973, p. 287-329 ('Herod the Great'), esp. 293 with n. 16 (referring to Augustus' distribution of money on the occasion of his election to the supreme priesthood in 12 BC, mentioned in *Res Gestae* 15, on which see R. RIDLEY, *The Emperor's Retrospect. Augustus' Res Gestae in Epigraphy, Historiography and Commentary* [*Studia Hellenistica*, 39], Leuven 2003, p. 118-119; cf. *infra*, n. 15), 318, 322; D. KIENAST, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 1996², p. 64: «12 v.Chr.: Reise des Augustus nach Aquileia und Treffen mit Herodes?»; cf. *id.*, *Augustus. Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt 1982, p. 375. It is strange that the standard works of Schürer and Kienast fail to mention Augustus' donation of the mines to Herod, thus revealing a certain doubt about its real significance or even some scepticism concerning its historicity? The encounter at Aquileia (or Rome) took place between Agrippa's return from Asia Minor in 13 BC (*Ant. Iud.* XVI 62, 86; D. KIENAST, *Augustus*, p. 101; Agrippa died in March 12 BC: *ibid.*, p. 103) and the inaugural celebrations

a turning point in the lives of both protagonists as well as in their mutual relationship.

For his detailed history of Herod Josephus was able to rely on Books 123 and 124 of Nicolas of Damascus' *Historiai*. Having accompanied his king on the trip to Italy, the Damascene was certainly in this respect «eine Primärquelle ersten Ranges», although his general presentation at times appears clearly tendentious and panegyric¹⁰. So, even though it is not a priori excluded that some exaggeration is involved, the information on Augustus' gifts may be considered basically reliable.

Let us now take a look at the account of Josephus:

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑστέραις ἡμέραις Ἡρώδης μὲν ἐδωρεῖτο Καίσαρα τριακοσίοις ταλάντοις, θέας τε καὶ διανομὰς ποιούμενον τῷ Ῥωμαίων δήμῳ, Καῖσαρ δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ μετάλλου τοῦ Κυπρίων χαλκοῦ τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσδοον καὶ τῆς ἡμισείας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔδωκεν, καὶ τὰλλα ξενίαις καὶ καταγωγαῖς ἐτίμησε.

The English translation by R. Marcus and A. Wikgren reads as follows¹¹:

«In the following days [after the reconciliation effected by Caesar Augustus] Herod made a present of three hundred talents to Caesar, who was providing spectacles and doles for the people of Rome, while Caesar gave him half the revenue from the copper mines¹² of Cyprus, and entrusted him with the management of the other half. In addition he honoured him with hospitality and lodging.»

A recent and outstanding Dutch translation by F.J.A.M. Meijer and M.A. Wes renders the passage in basically the same way¹³:

«De dagen daarop schonk Herodes driehonderd talenten aan Caesar, die voor het Romeinse rijk juist grote spelen gaf en graanuitdelingen

at Caesarea in 10/09 BC (*Ant. Iud.* XVI 136-141: E. SCHÜRER, p. 306; D. KIENAST, *Augustus*, p. 208 n. 155 [where the lapsus «10 n.Chr.» should of course be corrected]).

¹⁰ See, e.g., *Ant. Iud.* XVI 184-186; K. MEISTER, art. *Nikolaos 3*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* VIII (2000), col. 920-922.

¹¹ JOSEPHUS, with an English translation by R. MARCUS, completed and edited by A. WIKGREN, VIII, *Jewish Antiquities, Books XV-XVII (The Loeb Classical Library)*, London-Cambridge (MA) 1963, p. 256-257. The passage has been incorporated by K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πηγὰς*, I, *Leukosia* 1985² (1971), p. 302, no. 109.10 (also with the reading *ποιούμενον*, on which see *infra*) = II, 1985² (1973), p. 396 no. 173.2.

¹² It is clear that *μέταλλον* has the value of a collective noun here.

¹³ FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, *De Oude Geschiedenis van de Joden* [Antiquitates Judaicae]. *Deel III – Boek XIV-XX*. Vertaald, ingeleid en van aantekeningen voorzien door F.J.A.M. MEIJER en M.A. WES, Amsterdam-Leuven 1998, p. 228. Only the *xeniai* are understood in a somewhat different way.

organiseerde. Caesar op zijn beurt gaf hem de helft van de opbrengsten van de kopermijnen op Cyprus en vertrouwde hem het beheer over de andere helft toe. Bovendien eerde hij hem met andere gastgeschenken en bood hij hem een gastvrij onderkomen aan.»

Both translations speak explicitly of two different halves, a problem to which we will return anon. But there is another difficulty, which concerns the transmission of the Greek text. Part of the manuscript tradition has *ποιούμενος* instead of *ποιούμενον*. In that case «providing» should refer to Herod, not to Augustus. This would mean that it was Herod who funded the games and the doles to the Roman people, this offering being part, together with the 300 talents, of his set of gifts. At first glance the wording and structure of the text seem to support this interpretation, Caesar's gifts (*δέ*) in that case being clearly opposed to Herod's (*μέν*). On the other hand, Herod's gifts seem evenly distributed between the person of Augustus and the Roman people. Moreover, one could adduce that spectacles and grain distributions offered by the guest are apt to be deemed more spectacular and surprising than those provided by the host. Conversely, one could wonder why games paid for by Augustus on behalf of the Romans would have been mentioned in this particular context. So, if we accept the reading *ποιούμενος*, the exchange would amount to the following: Herod offering 300 talents to Augustus, as well as games etc. to the Roman people, while receiving in turn a share in the Cypriot copper mines and a series of benefits facilitating his stay in Italy. On both sides there was a temporary and fleeting gift (games, lodging comfort) as well as a more permanent donation (talents, mines).

However, a coherent interpretation is also possible if we join the modern text editors and endorse the reading *ποιούμενον*, the more so as in that case we can establish a connection with Augustus' money distributions of 12 BC¹⁴. But then there certainly had to be a link between Herod's 300 talents and the spectacles etc. organized by Augustus¹⁵: otherwise

¹⁴ See n. 9.

¹⁵ Cf. J. GAGÉ (ed.), *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Les Belles Lettres), Paris 1977, p. 99: «la distribution de 12 av. J.-Ch. (...): faite à l'occasion de l'élection d'Auguste comme grand-pontife, et en partie sur un legs testamentaire d'Agrippa, peut-être aussi sur une donation spéciale du roi Hérode»; R. RIDLEY, *The Emperor's Retrospect* (n. 9), p. 119: «[in this case] the money came in part from Agrippa's will, and in part from Herod». See also P. RICHARDSON, *Herod, King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*, Columbia (SC) 1996, p. 278. At any rate, the link with Agrippa's legacy is expressly stated by Dio LIV 29.4, who adds that Augustus «gave it to be understood that Agrippa had ordered the distribution».

their mention in that sentence would have been pointless. With this reading the interpretation must be that on the one hand (μὲν) Herod gave 300 talents *with which* Augustus was able to organize games etc. for the Roman people (and in so doing enhancing not only Herod's but also his own popularity), and that on the other hand (δὲ) the *princeps* spoiled his guest with a share in the copper mines and other benefactions.

Both interpretations have their proper implications when we want to grasp the nature and bearing of the 'Cypriot component' in the exchange. Before analyzing that component in a more systematic way, it may be appropriate to confront the reader with a representative sample of quotations taken from various modern scholarly works as well as from some influential tourist guides. This will show how divergent the interpretations of the Josephus passage have become in the course of time and to what extent the original report has sometimes been simplified or even distorted.

J. MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II (= J.M.-T. MOMMSEN, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, V), Leipzig 1884², p. 261 n. 1: «Augustus hatte [die berühmten Kupferwerke in Cypern] dem Könige Herodes von Judaea gegen die Hälfte des Gewinnes verpachtet.»

J. HACKETT, *A History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus*, London 1901, p. 3: «Many more [Jews] subsequently reached the island in the hope of finding employment in the copper mines, which were at one time farmed by Herod the Great.»

W. OTTO, art. *Herodes* 14, in: *RE Suppl.* II (1913), col. 1-158, esp. 90: «schließlich sehen wir [Herodes] sogar der Industrie zuwenden: im J. 12 v.Chr. hat er die Ausbeute der kaiserlichen Kupferbergwerke zu Soloi auf Kypern zur Hälfte übernommen, und zwar gegen einmalige Zahlung einer Pauschalsumme von 300 Talenten (ant. Iud. XVI 128; soweit ich sehe, ist die Stelle bisher noch nicht richtig aufgefaßt worden. Josephus spricht hier fälschlich von gegenseitigen Schenkungen des H. und des Augustus, den 300 Talenten und der ἡμισεία πρόσδοος der Bergwerke. Er fügt dann ausdrücklich hinzu, daß H. für diese ἡμισεία die ἐπιμέλεια erhielt; von der anderen ist garnicht die Rede. Es ist also falsch, von der Verpachtung des ganzen Bergwerkes gegen die Hälfte des Gewinns zu reden, so Marquardt Röm. St.-V. II² 261, 1).»

H. BLÜMNER, art. *Kupfer*, in: *RE* XI (1922), col. 2194-2200, esp. 2196: «Augustus verpachtete (die früher im Besitz der kyprischen Könige befindlichen Gruben; später Eigentum der römischen Kaiser) um die Hälfte des Ertrages an den König Herodes von Judaea.»

T.R.S. BROUGHTON, in: T. FRANK (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, Baltimore 1938 (= New York 1975), p. 534, discussing the annexation of Cyprus in 58 BC: «The mines probably became public

property but information before Augustus is lacking» – p. 651-652: «The copper mines were at Caesar's [= Augustus'] disposal; Joseph., *Ant.*, XVI, 4, 5: 'Caesar gave him (Herod of Judea) half the revenue of the copper mine of Cyprus as well as charge of the (other) half.' This was really a lease on shares, since Herod was to oversee the actual working of the mines.» – p. 694: «The arrangement between Augustus and Herod in Cyprus under which Herod worked the mines, took half the proceeds for himself, and administered the other half for the Roman government (...) amounted essentially to a concession on shares. We have no information regarding later arrangements after the death of Herod, ...»

G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. I. *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, Cambridge 1940, p. 238 with n. 3¹⁶: «The mines of Cyprus, which had been the property of the Cypriote kings and of their successors the Ptolemies, fell naturally to the Roman state. In 12 B.C. Augustus allowed Herod the Great to take over a half of the output of the copper mines at Soli against a payment of a round sum of 300 talents.» – «The way [Josephus] puts the transaction is that Augustus and Herod made each other presents of half the produce of the mines and the sum of 300 talents, and that then Herod was given the ἐπιμέλεια of this half. Otto, *Herodes*, col. 9[0], points out that it is incorrect to say (as does Marquardt, *Röm[ische] Staatsverw[altung]* II², p. 261, n. 1) that the whole of the mines were farmed out against half the produce.» Thanks to the widely acknowledged authority of his book, Hill's became the standard interpretation, particularly inspiring T.B. Mitford, the most authoritative mid-twentieth century historian of Graeco-Roman Cyprus.

D. ALASTOS, *Cyprus in History. A Survey of 5,000 Years*, London 1955=1976, p. 105-106: «... the Jewish population of Cyprus was not inconsiderable even in Ptolemaic times. It was later increased by traders and settlers, by workers for the mines in which Herod the Great had an interest, and by refugees after the occupation of Jerusalem ... in 70 A.D.» Cf. p. 106 n. 1: in a then still unpublished work of I. ΚΥΚΚΟΤΙΣ on early Christianity in Cyprus it was also taken for granted that many Cypriot Jews worked in the copper mines (esp. at Tamassos and Soloi), which should explain and help to reconstruct the routes followed by the first Christian missionaries and their (in fact often legendary) visits to specific places.

¹⁶ Cf. G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. I. *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, Cambridge 1940, p. 210 n. 3, correcting a slip by W.H. ENGEL (*Kypros*, I, Berlin 1841, p. 456), according to whom it was Julius Caesar who «let Herod the Great have half the revenue from the mines». On p. 241 n. 4, discussing the Jewish presence in Cyprus, Hill recalls that «Herod the Great had extensive interests in the island» (but the Paphian inscription IGRR III, 938 has no connection with him: see T.B. MITFORD, *The Cults of Roman Cyprus*, in: *ANRW* II 18.3 [1990], p. 2176-2211, esp. 2204 n. 145).

T.B. MITFORD, *The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos*, in: *ABSA* 56 (1961), p. 1-41, esp. 40: «in 12 B.C. Augustus could lease [the copper mines of] Soli to Herod the Great for a lump-sum of 300 talents and half the annual produce.» In his later synthesis on Roman Cyprus (*Roman Cyprus*, in: Hildegard TEMPORINI [ed.], *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II 7.2, Berlin-New York 1980, p. 1285-1383, esp. 1297-1298) this becomes: «In 12 B.C. Augustus leased half of the output of the copper mines of Soli to Herod the Great of Judaea against a payment of 300 talents», referring explicitly to the Josephus passage «as interpreted by Hill». Elsewhere in the same study (p. 1327), speaking of Soloi and in particular of «the copper mines of Skouriotissa, the richest in the island», he repeats: «These were, Josephus tells us, leased by Augustus to Herod the Great, and at the time of Galen's visit in 166 A.D. were in full production.» In a footnote (p. 1297 n. 33) he explains that «the Roman state naturally fell heir» to the mines of Cyprus, which had been «the property of the Ptolemies». In a later study (*The Cults of Roman Cyprus*, in: W. HAASE [ed.], *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II 18.3, Berlin-New York 1990, p. 2176-2211, esp. 2204 n. 145) the explanation (in the context of the Jewish presence in the island) is less elaborate: «Herod the Great had extensive commercial interests in Cypriot copper mining by arrangement with Augustus.»

A. SCHALIT, *König Herodes. Der Mann und sein Werk* (*Studia Judaica*, 4), Berlin 1969, p. 251: «Wie Josephus berichtet, pachtete Herodes vom Kaiser die Kupferminen von Soloi auf Kypros um die Hälfte der Einnahmen. Es kann sehr wohl sein, daß die Abgeurteilten zunächst zur Arbeit in den königlichen Minen verschickt wurden und daß er Ihre Arbeitskraft ausnutzte, um seine Einnahmen zu steigern. Nach Ablauf des Pachtvertrages mögen die Sklaven dem Kaiser zu weiterer Benützung überlassen worden sein.» — Cf. n. 354-355: «Vielleicht schickte Herodes seine *servi poenae* anfänglich in die Bergwerke des Kaisers — wohl gegen Bezahlung, d.h. daß die Verurteilten im Geschäftswege regelrecht als Bergwerkssklaven verkauft wurden —, und erst seitdem er selbst Gruben gepachtet hatte, sandte er sie in seine eigenen Werke.»

K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πηγὰς*, I (Leukosia 1971, 1985²), p. 303, no. 109. 10, and II (1973, 1985²), p. 397, no. 173. 2 (translation of the Josephus passage into Modern Greek): «ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ ἔδωκε τὰ μισὰ ἔσοδα τοῦ μεταλλείου τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῇ διαχείρησιν τοῦ ἄλλου μισοῦ.» Cf. also the introduction to I, no. 109. 10, p. 302: «ὁ Ὀκταβιανὸς Αὐγουστος ἐχάρισεν εἰς τὸν Ἡρώδην τὸν διοικητὴν τῆς Ἰουδαίας τὴν ἡμίσειαν πρόσδοδόν των καὶ τῆς ὑπολοίπου ἡμισείας ἐνεπιστεύθη εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν διαχείρισιν.» In II, p. 396 and 397 (introduction to the Josephus passage and to its rendering in Modern Greek), the editor states that the copper mines of Cyprus were the property of the Roman emperor («ἦσαν ἰδιοκτησία τοῦ Ῥωμαίου αυτοκράτορος»), i.e. Augustus.

Lea ROTH, art. *Cyprus*, in: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, V, Jerusalem 1971, col. 1181: «During the Roman period there were contacts between Erez Israel and Cyprus: Herod received from Augustus a portion of the revenue from the copper mines there and was entrusted with the management of some of them ([Jos., Ant.], 1[6]: 128). It is possible that Jews were employed at the mines in an administrative capacity, or that they were sent to work there as a punishment for criminal offenses.»

C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus. With an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1985, p. 155 (§74): «After having exploited internecine Ptolemaic strife (...), the Jews under their new leaders, the half-Jewish half-Nabataean Idumaeon dynasty which attempted a fusion of Hellenism and Judaism, tightened their grip on Cyprus, through the sale to Herod the Great by August in 12 B.C. of the control and the revenues of half the coppermines of the island in return for 300 talents in ready cash.»

D. MICHAELIDES, in: D. HUNT (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus. An Illustrated History*, London 1990², p. 121-122: «The mines, which had been royal property under the Ptolemies, had now come under imperial ownership. From Josephus, the 1st-century-AD Jewish historian, for instance, we learn that in 12 BC Augustus leased out half the output of the copper mines of Soloi to Herod the Great of Judaea for the sum of 300 talents.»

E. GABBA, in: A. KASHER-U. RAPPAPORT-G. FUKS (edd.), *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem 1990, p. 160-168, esp. 163: «Augustus entrusted the exploitation of the copper mines of Cyprus to the king in exchange for a payment of 300 talents, which appears to have been *una tantum*, and allowed him one-half of the said income.» Cf. n. 15, explicitly endorsing the opinions of Marquardt and Broughton and rejecting that of Otto.

P. RICHARDSON, *Herod, King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*, Columbia (SC) 1996, p. 278: «Herod sent Augustus a gift of three hundred talents for spectacles and poor relief in Rome; in return he received the management of all and the revenue of half the copper mines in Cyprus.»

N. KOKKINOS, *The Herodian Dynasty. Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse (Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha, Suppl. 30)*, Sheffield 1998, p. 160: «Of Phasaël II's daughters, Alexandra, ..., married Timius of Cyprus with whom she died childless. All we know of Timius is that he was 'a man of some importance'. We may guess that his connection with the Herodian family had something to do with the copper mines in Cyprus (almost certainly near Soloi), half of the revenue of which, and the management of the other half, were granted to Herod the Great by Augustus in 13/12 BCE. Perhaps Timius, a local aristocrat, was appointed a royal procurator of the mining operations there, and Alexandra may eventually have settled in Cyprus.»

Katia HADJIDEMETRIOU, *A History of Cyprus*, Nicosia 2002, p. 103-104: «The mines, which in former times belonged to the Ptolemies, now belonged to the Roman state and the production of copper continued. The first information about the state of the mines at this time comes from Josephus. The Jewish historian tells us that Augustus gave an important part of the administration of the mines and the income from them to the King of Judaea, Herod the Great, (12 B.C.), who paid 300 talents in return.»

The following tourist guides also offer some information on the topic:

I. ROBERTSON, *Cyprus (Blue Guide)*, London-New York 1987², p. 104: «The mines [of Tamassos]¹⁷ were given by Alexander the Great to King Pnytagoras of Salamis after the Siege of Tyre, while in the 1C BC Herod the Great took a lease on them, at which time a number of Jews emigrated to Cyprus.»

A. SCHNEIDER, *Zypern. 8000 Jahre Geschichte: Archäologische Schätze, Byzantinische Kirchen, Gotische Kathedralen (Kunst-Reiseführer in der Reihe DuMont Dokumente)*, Köln 1988, 1993³, p. 47: «Die römischen Kaiser hatten in senatorischen wie in kaiserlichen Provinzen direktes Eigentum. Josephus erzählt, daß Augustus auf Zypern Minen besaß (wohl die von Sóloi), deren Ausbeutung und Einkünfte er für 300 Talente 12 v.Chr. an Herodes, König von Judäa, verkaufte.» The passage was omitted in the new edition of 2002, in which the outstanding historical introduction was abbreviated: ID., *Zypern. Archäologische Schätze, byzantinische Kirchen und gotische Kathedralen im Schnittpunkt der Kulturen (DuMont-Kunst-Reiseführer)*, Köln 2002.

K.K. KESHISHIAN, *Romantic Cyprus*, Nicosia 1993¹⁷ (for many years the most widespread and popular tourist guide in Cyprus, providing besides all kinds of (all in all interesting) curiosities, much helpful information impossible to retrieve by foreigners), p. 245: «In 12 B.C. the Roman Emperor Augustus gave to Herod the Great Edomite king of Judea, half of the output of the copper mines at Soli, Cyprus, against a payment of 300 talents (£72,000).»

M. DUBIN-D. MORRIS, *The Rough Guide to Cyprus*, London-New York 2002⁴, p. 278: «One of the oldest-known Cypriot settlements, Tamassos owed its existence to extensive deposits of copper, ...; later the revenues

¹⁷ In fact, Athenaeus (IV 167 c-d), quoting Duris, only says that Alexander, on the Salaminian king's demand, transferred to him the town (and by implication the whole kingdom, including the mines) that had once belonged to Pasikypros (Tamassos' last king). But we may assume, of course, that Pnytagoras was in the first place interested in the copper production of that inland region, his own kingdom being devoid of such mines. Cf. G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* (n. 16), I, p. 150 n. 2.

from the local mines accrued to the Phoenicians, the kings of Salamis and the biblical Herod, though these beneficiaries fail to give a clear idea of who was actually living, working or ruling at Tamassos itself.»

A comparative reading of these modern paraphrases of Josephus' text is somewhat confusing, to say the least. For the sake of convenience we will deal, one by one, with several striking questions.

1. THE OWNER

Whereas most modern commentaries explicitly state or implicitly assume that Augustus, as Herod's benefactor or lessor, was the legal proprietor of the Cypriot copper mines, others, among them Hill, Mitford, and Hadjidemetriou, accord ownership to the Roman state, obviously regarding Augustus as merely the republic's representative¹⁸. In those days there was still a clear distinction between the prerogatives of the *princeps* and the authority of the state, the more so as from 22 BC Cyprus was no longer an imperial, but a public (or so-called 'senatorial') province¹⁹.

Whatever the case, modern scholars (like Oberhummer²⁰, Blümner, Hill, Mitford, Michaelides and Hadjidemetriou) regard the owners of the Cypriot copper mines, be they the Roman people, or Augustus (and his successors), as the natural heirs or 'Rechtsnachfolger' of the ancient city kings and the Ptolemies.

Of old the local kings had ruled their principalities in the most absolute way. Thus we are entitled to suppose that the copper mines, being the

¹⁸ State ownership is also advocated by the editors of the *Antiquitates* in the Loeb collection (cf. *supra*, n. 11), p. 257: «the earliest evidence that under Augustus the mines were state property.» See also S.I. OOST, *Cato 'Uticensis' and the Annexation of Cyprus*, in: *CPh* 50 (1955), p. 98-112, esp. 111 n. 41: «The mines were state property under Augustus (Jos. *Ant.* 16. 129), but earlier evidence is lacking.» The said editors and Oost refer to, among others, T.R.S. BROUGHTON, in: T. FRANK (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, Baltimore 1938 (= New York 1975), p. 534, but there Broughton is discussing the period *before* Augustus. Concerning the period after 22 BC, he is somewhat ambiguous: on the one hand the mines are said to have been at Augustus' «disposal» (whatever that may imply) (p. 651), on the other he thinks that Herod was expected to administer half of them «for the Roman government» (thus accepting state ownership) (p. 694).

¹⁹ Concerning the terminology, see F. MILLAR, 'Senatorial' Provinces: *An Institutionalized Ghost*, in: *AncW* 20 (1989), p. 93-97.

²⁰ E. OBERHUMMER, art. *Kypros*, in: *RE* XII (1924), col. 59-117, esp. 66: «Die Gruben waren Besitz der kyprischen Könige und deren Rechtsnachfolger, der Ptolemäer und der römischen Kaiser.»

island's greatest resource by far, were their property²¹. At least in Kition and Tamassos the copper industry was closely connected with religious representations and supervised by the clergy of the main temples, as it had already been in Enkomi, Kition and Paphos in the Late Bronze Age²². In all probability religious and political authority were to a large extent interwoven, as was definitely the case in the kingdom of Paphos²³.

The elimination of the kings during the first decades of the Hellenistic era brought a dramatic end to centuries of extensive local autonomy, introducing a militarily enforced Ptolemaic administration. Remoulded as it were into low-profile city-states, the former kingdoms retained a kind of limited self-government, whereas the mines, due to their economic, financial and strategic importance, must have been put under the new masters' direct control²⁴. As within their system (unlike the situation in the Early Roman Empire) ruler and state largely overlapped, the copper mines may be regarded as the Ptolemies' personal property. However, the only concrete information we have about their management is the

²¹ See L. ANTONIADIS, *L'institution de la royauté en Chypre antique*, in: *Kypriakai Spoudai* 45 (1981), p. 29-53, esp. 38 (without any specific reference to an ancient source). The Curtius passage (X 1.19 [not: «11»]) adduced by H. BLÜMNER (art. *Kupfer*, in: *RE* XI, 1922, col. 2194-2200, esp. 2196), on the other hand, is in my opinion not wholly conclusive: *Cypriorum regibus imperatum ut aes stuppamque et vela praeberent* («The kings of the Cypriotes were ordered to furnish copper, hemp and sails»: QUINTUS CURTIUS, with an English translation by J.C. ROLFE, II, *Books VI-X [The Loeb Classical Library]*, London-Cambridge [MA] 1946, p. 472-473). But as it seems that «la plupart des richesses du territoire de son royaume» belonged to the local king (*ibid.*), the same should hold for the mines.

²² V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Cyprus from the Stone Age to the Romans*, London 1982, p. 103-104 (Late Bronze Age: Enkomi, Kition, Paphos and other sites) and 151 (1st millennium B.C.: Tamassos, Kition); see also C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus. With an Introduction to the Geography of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1985, p. 47 (§9a), 59-60 (§12), 104 (§42). Cf. A. SCHNEIDER, *Zypern* (2002 [cf. p. 183]), p. 73 (Kition), 224 (Tamassos), 268-270 (Enkomi); M. DUBIN – D. MORRIS, *Cyprus* (n. 3), p. 83 (Kition) and 278 (Tamassos).

²³ Cf. L. ANTONIADIS, *L'institution de la royauté* (n. 21), p. 31 n. 13 and p. 38 with n. 36.

²⁴ On the particular character of the Ptolemaic administration in Cyprus, where mine districts must have been directly subject to the royal island administration, see A. MEHL, *Zyperns Wirtschaft in hellenistischer Zeit*, in: *MBAH* 14,2 (1995), p. 27-50, esp. 29 and 50 («Cyprus did not belong to the centralistic crown-economy of Egypt», with the exception of some areas that were vital to Ptolemaic military and economic interests); *id.*, *Militärwesen und Verwaltung der Ptolemäer in Zypern*, in: *RCCM* 38 (1996), p. 215-260, esp. 234-237. According to G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* (n. 16), p. 173, «the epigraphic evidence from the copper-mining districts (Soli and Tamassus) so active in earlier times, indicates by its scantiness that they were no longer flourishing». This seems a rather weak *argumentum e silentio*, the more so as the epigraphic evidence for Cyprus in general is very poor. A. MEHL (*Zyperns Wirtschaft*, p. 37) assumes a decline in copper winning only from the 1st century BC, which includes the era of Herod, but the reasons for that contention remain unclear.

existence, in the latter days of Ptolemaic rule, of a specific official entrusted with the general control of the Cypriot mines. It was a certain Potamon, the son of Aigyptos, a local dignitary and former priest of the Paphian Aphrodite²⁵. Combining his *gymnasiarchia* with the Ptolemaic office of ἀντιστρατηγὸς τῆς νήσου, deputy *strategos*, i.e. vice governor of the island, this Paphian (as he may be considered in all likelihood) was at the same time ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων, overseer of (all) the (Cypriot) mines (ca. 95-88 BC)²⁶. Not only for the mine office but for the *antistrategia* as well this is the sole evidence. The historical circumstances are very specific: Ptolemy IX Soter II residing in Cyprus (105-88 BC), the island had no governor²⁷. Potamon was one of the very few Cypriot natives ever to enjoy a high post in the Ptolemaic administration, a typical feature, it seems, of that king's policy. At any rate, the combination of the *metalla* office with the *antistrategia* points to the importance the latter attached to the (copper) mines. Unfortunately, we do not know who was responsible for them before the ninth Ptolemy²⁸. Was it perhaps the *strategos* himself²⁹, but without manifest indication in his titulature? Or was the task «delegated to a high-ranking subordinate», as suggested by Bagnall³⁰, before it became more prominent?

²⁵ T.B. MITFORD, *The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos*, in: *ABSA* 56 (1961), p. 1-41, esp. 37 no. 99 = *OGIS* I 164 (105-ca. 95 BC): see Vinciane PIRENNE-DELFORGE, *L'Aphrodite grecque. Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique* (*Kernos, Suppl.* 4), Athènes-Liège 1994, p. 347 («prêtre chargé de conduire les sacrifices en l'honneur d'Aphrodite»).

²⁶ T.B. MITFORD, in: *ABSA* 56 (1961), p. 39-40 no. 107 = *OGIS* I 165; *Pros. Ptol.* VI 15066; Ino MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU, *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus* (*Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, 44), Göteborg 1976, p. 20 and 101, Π no. 44; cf. H. BENGTSON, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit. Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht*, III (*Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, 36), München 1952, p. 152-153; R.S. BAGNALL, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (*Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition*, 4), Leiden 1976, p. 74 and 261; K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* (n. 11), IV 1 (1980), p. 212-214 no. 77; 2 (1980), p. 147 («Ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴ αὐτὴ μαθαίνομε ὅτι τὰ μεταλλεῖα τῆς Κύπρου ἀνήκον στὸν βασιλεῖα»); C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 131.

²⁷ On the possible reasons for the creation of the island's *antistrategia*, see T.B. MITFORD, *Seleucus and Theodoros*, in: *OAth* 1 (1953), p. 130-171, esp. 166-167 n. 119.

²⁸ C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 131, seems to suggest, without further proof, that the *antistrategia* combined with the overall administration of the mines was a regular office, already existing before Ptolemy IX. Cf., on the other hand, A. MEHL, *Militärwesen* (n. 24), p. 251-252: «es bleibt offen, ob die Aufsicht über die Bergwerke, die jener Antistrategen ebenfalls ausübte, stets zu seinem Amt gehörte oder eine ad-hoc-Beauftragung war».

²⁹ As suggested by K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* (n. 11), IV 2 (1980), p. 147. The opposite view was advocated by G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* (n. 16), p. 178.

³⁰ R.S. BAGNALL, *Administration* (n. 26), p. 74.

Annexed by Rome in 58 BC, Cyprus was restituted ten years later to the Ptolemies. As part of their realm it fell as war booty into Octavian's hands after the capture of Alexandria on August 1st, 30 BC, a situation confirmed in 27 BC, when the provinces were divided up between the *princeps* and the Republic³¹.

When five years later the emperor ceded the island to the People, it would have been logical if the mines had been part of the package. However, the Josephus passage points to the contrary. For Augustus was clearly free to donate or lease them in what appears to have been a highly private context of exchange of liberalities and honours between friends. So in one way or another the Senate must have agreed to leave Cyprus' copper resources to the *princeps*' complete discretion. As a matter of fact, Marquardt already noticed that «alle grossen und einträglichen Bergwerke nicht nur in den kaiserlichen Provinzen auf Rechnung des Kaisers betrieben (wurden), ..., sondern auch in den Senatsprovinzen.»³²

Many scholars point to Galenus' visit to a mine in the vicinity of Soloi³³, obviously that of Skouriotissa, the richest in the island³⁴. This took place

³¹ O. VESSBERG, in: O. V.-A. WESTHOLM, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. IV, 3, *The Hellenistic and Roman Periods in Cyprus*, Stockholm 1956, p. 237-239; T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus*, in: ANRW II 7.2 (1980), p. 1285-1383, esp. 1289-1297; F.G. MAIER, *Cyprern. Insel am Kreuzweg der Geschichte*, München 1982², p. 66-72.

³² J. MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II (= J.M. – Th. MOMMSEN, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, V), Leipzig 1884², p. 260-261 (referring to Cyprus, Baetica and Sicily). Cf. A. SCHNEIDER, *Zypern* (n. 3), quoted p. 183 above. Authors like Hill and Mitford, when speaking of the Roman state as the *natural* heir (my italics) to the Ptolemies, are basically right (at least as far as the period 58-48 and that after 22 BC are concerned), but the reality was different.

³³ Cf. V. NUTTON, art. *Galenos aus Pergamon*, in: *Der Neue Pauly* IV (1998), col. 748-756, esp. 749 and 752.

³⁴ J. MARQUARDT, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (n. 32), p. 261 n. 1; H. BLÜMNER, art. *Kupfer* (n. 21), col. 2196; T.R.S. BROUGHTON, in: T. FRANK (ed.), *Economic Survey* (n. 18), IV, p. 694; G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* (n. 16), p. 238; T.B. MITFORD, *The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos* (n. 25), p. 40; *Roman Cyprus* (n. 31), p. 1298 n. 43 and p. 1327; K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* (n. 11), II (1985²), p. 398-414 no. 173.3-15, *passim*; C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 147 (§68); D. MICHAELIDES, in: D. HUNT (ed.), *Footprints in Cyprus. An Illustrated History*, London 1990², p. 122; Katia HADJIDEMETRIOU, *A History of Cyprus*, Nicosia 2002, p. 104-105. Also K.K. KESHISHIAN (*Romantic Cyprus* [n. 3], p. 247) and A. SCHNEIDER (*Zypern* [2002 (cf. p. 183)], p. 241-243) pay full attention to Galenus' presence in Cyprus. On Galenus and the mine of Skouriotissa (thus called «en raison des amas de scories antiques», «peut-être le gisement que visita Galien, encore que sa localisation soit moins précise» [but according to Keshishian the identification can be made «with reasonable certainty», which is the more probable as the distance given by Galenus – 30 stadia – corresponds approximately to that between Soloi and Skouriotissa, «some 5 miles to the SE»: T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus*, p. 1298

in 166 or 167 AD, under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. At that time the mines were supervised by an imperial *epitropos* (*procurator*), with whom the physician, in search of medicinal minerals, had established contact through the kind offices of a common friend³⁵. It is not completely clear – the titulature being somewhat ambiguous³⁶ – whether the procurator's authority was restricted to the Soloi area or whether it extended to the whole of Cyprus, in that case making him a kind of successor to the ἐπὶ τῶν μετάλλων of late Ptolemaic times³⁷. In any event, it means that in the second half of the 2nd century AD the Cypriot mines were part of the emperor's patrimony. But contrary to the opinion of certain scholars who advocate Augustan ownership, this information is barely illustrative of that early era, as conditions had since thoroughly changed. Especially from the Hadrianic period on, the emperors had seriously encroached upon the Senate's or republican officials' powers in the public provinces³⁸. So, if we still believe that the copper mines given to Herod by Augustus were the latter's property, it is only on the authority of Josephus' text, inspired as it was by Nicolas' oeuvre.

n. 43]), see R. HALLEUX, *Une description pseudo-aristotélicienne des mines de Chypre*, in: AC 50 (1981), p. 382-392, esp. 386-388. On p. 386 n. 33 Halleux refers to J. WALSH, *Galen visits the Dead Sea and the Copper Mines of Cyprus (166 A.D.)*, in: *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of Philadelphia* 25 (1927), p. 92-110, a study I was not able to consult. See also *infra*, n. 40, in particular the study of Bruce.

³⁵ Galenus, *De Antidotis* 1. 2 (ed. C.G. KÜHN, *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, Leipzig 1821-1833 [= Hildesheim 1965], XIV [1827], p. 7 = K. HADJIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* [n. 11], II [1985²], p. 398 no. 173.3): Galenus visiting the copper mines of Cyprus and looking for mineral *pharmaka*: Κύπρον γοῦν ἱστορῆσαι βουλευθεῖς ἐγὼ διὰ ταῦτα [τὰ φάρμακα]. There he had an influential friend who was acquainted with the imperial procurator in charge of the mines: φίλον τε ἔχων τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ πολὺ δυνάμενον, ἐταῖρον ὄντα τοῦ προεστῶτος τῶν μετάλλων ἐπιτρόπου Καίσαρος. Elsewhere Galenus explicitly refers to the mine of Soloi situated at a distance of 30 stadia from the town (5,520 metres according to Hadjiōannou, obviously reckoning by the Attic standard): *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9.3.8 (KÜHN, XII [1826], p. 214 = HADJIOANNOU, p. 400 no. 173.9), speaking in this context of ὁ προεστὼς ἐπίτροπος τοῦ μετάλλου, thus using the singular instead of the plural. See also *ibid.*, 9.3.21 (KÜHN, XII, p. 226-227 = HADJIOANNOU, p. 403-404 no. 173.10): Soloi (p. 226); ὁ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπίτροπος τοῦ μετάλλου (p. 227: again the singular); cf. *ibid.*, 9.3.11 (KÜHN, XII, p. 220 = HADJIOANNOU, p. 409-410 no. 173.14): Soloi; *ibid.*, 9.3.25 (KÜHN, XII, p. 234 = HADJIOANNOU, p. 412 no. 173.15): ὁ ἐπίτροπος.

³⁶ Think of the alternating use of singular and plural (see preceding note), but the use of the singular is not conclusive as in this case μέταλλον can be considered a collective noun (just as in the Josephus passage).

³⁷ Thus, C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 147.

³⁸ See T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus* (n. 31), p. 1307; C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 147; W. ECK, art. *Procurator* 1, in: *Der Neue Pauly* X (2001), col. 366-368, esp. 367.

2. THE MINES

The copper mines of Cyprus were scattered around the foothills of the Troodos range and beyond, on the territories of a series of former kingdoms: Marion, Soloi, Tamassos, and also Amathous, Idalion and Kition. The most important were no doubt those of Soloi (especially the one on the site of Skouriotissa, well-documented by Galenus) and Tamassos (explicitly mentioned by Strabo XIV 6.5-6, who points out the medicinal properties of its copper rust [verdigris]³⁹)⁴⁰.

It is striking that many scholars and tourist guide authors, among them the most influential, when discussing the Josephus passage, refer to the mines of Soloi as those which – in their entirety or for a half – were taken over by Herod: thus Otto, Hill, Mitford⁴¹, Schalit, Michaelides, Kokkinos, Schneider, and Keshishian. Only a few (Robertson, Dubin-Morris) point to Tamassos. Still others do not specify, and rightly so. For Josephus, speaking only of the Cypriot mines, remains silent about the exact localization of those involved. Identifying them with particular sites is mere speculation, in the case of Soloi clearly induced by the detailed reports of Galenus (and by the fact that the Skouriotissa mine, which he probably inspected, was the richest in the island), and in that of Tamassos possibly inspired by Strabo's description of Cyprus.

³⁹ Cf. O. VESSBERG, in: *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* (n. 31), IV 3, p. 237.

⁴⁰ The most comprehensive study on the technical aspects of ancient mining in Cyprus is still J.L. BRUCE et al., *Antiquities in the Mines of Cyprus*, in: E. GJERSTADT et al., *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III. Text, Stockholm 1937, p. 639-671 ('Appendix V'). On the copper mines of Cyprus in general, see H. BLÜMNER, art. *Kupfer* (n. 21), col. 2196; E. OBERHUMMER, art. *Kypros* (n. 20), col. 66 («rings um das Troodosgebirge»); ID., art. *Tamassos*, in: *RE* IVA (1932), col. 2095-2098, esp. 2095; G. HILL, *A History of Cyprus* (n. 16), p. 8-9; T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus* (n. 31), p. 1297-1298, 1327, 1341 (confining himself to the mines of Soloi, esp. those of Skouriotissa and near Leuka), and the map between p. 1288 and 1289 (also showing the mines of Marion and Tamassos); A. MEHL, *Zyperns Wirtschaft* (n. 24), p. 30-31; 36-38 (with recent bibliography on copper mining and production [n. 5 and 16], also pointing to the ferruginous quality of the local copper ore). In his tourist guide K.K. KESHISHIAN (*Romantic Cyprus* [n. 3], p. 249-252) gives an interesting overview of the different copper mines (and the companies involved) that were again operative in recent times, resuming ancient mining activities (covering the former areas of Marion, Soloi, Tamassos, Amathous, and Kition; cf. the map inserted between p. 32 and 33). Today they are all abandoned except that at Skouriotissa: see E. FRANGOULIDOU (ed.), *About Cyprus* [compiled by the government services], 2004, p. 213-214. A map of the 'Ancient Copper Mines and Slag Heaps' was issued in 1982 by the Geological Survey Department of Cyprus (dir. G. CONSTANTINOU) and is currently on display in the Cyprus Museum in Leukosia.

⁴¹ Mitford (see previous note), referring to the mines of Soloi in general as those obtained by Herod, also suggests that of Skouriotissa in particular.

3. THE PEOPLE

Various authors (Hackett, Alastos, Karageorghis⁴²)⁴³ are convinced that many Jews had to labour, were employed or somehow involved in the mine industry.

From early Hellenistic times on, indeed, and certainly under the early Empire, Jews flourished and lived widespread over the island. That situation would last until the suppression of the great Diaspora insurrection of 116-117⁴⁴. As attested for different towns and areas like those of Salamis (with its famous synagogue), Paphos, Amathous, Kourion, Tremithous, and Lapethos, Jews proved at least sufficiently numerous to lay Salamis in ruins⁴⁵. But as far as I can see, there is no reason to assume a particular Jewish concentration in prominent mining centres like Soloi or Tamassos, nor an increasing immigration around the time of the concession to Herod (as implicitly accepted by Alastos and perhaps by Kyrris, and explicitly advanced by Robertson). Nowhere, not even in the abundant apocryphal, semi-legendary literature on the early saints of Cyprus⁴⁶, did I find the slightest link between the Jews of Cyprus and the mines or the copper trade of the island⁴⁷.

It is of course tempting to look for a specific link between the king of Judaea and the Jews of Cyprus (already settled or recently immigrated),

⁴² V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 127: «(The Jews [of Salamis]) were occupied mainly in the copper trade».

⁴³ C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 155, only speaks of the Jews tightening their grip on the island after the partial takeover of the mines by Herod.

⁴⁴ On the Jewish presence in Cyprus and their revolt, see T.B. MITFORD, *Roman Cyprus* (n. 31), p. 1380-1381; ID., *The Cults of Roman Cyprus* (n. 16), p. 2204-2207; K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* (n. 11), V (1983), p. 160-162 no. 169. For a list of the collected *testimonia*, see *ibid.*, p. 341; C.P. KYRRIS, *History of Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 155-156; E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* (n. 9), III 1 (1986), p. 68-69.

⁴⁵ Cf. V. KARAGEORGHIS, *Cyprus* (n. 22), p. 127-128.

⁴⁶ On which see the still basic articles by H. LECLERCQ, art. *Chypre*, in: *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, III, Paris 1914, col. 1568-1584, esp. 1569-1578, and H. DELEHAYE, *Saints de Chypre*, in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 26 (1907), p. 161-301, *passim*. It is, of course, a bit awkward to try to reconstruct the routes followed by the first Christian missionaries by combining different highly legendary accounts with alleged Jewish settlements near ancient mine centres (as did I. KYKKOTIS, in: D. ALASTOS, *Cyprus in History. A Survey of 5,000 Years*, London 1955 = 1976, p. 106 n. 1).

⁴⁷ The fact that in 310 Christian confessors were transferred from the Palestinian copper mines (of Phaeno) to Cyprus (presumably also to work in the copper mines) (Eusebius, *Mart. Pal.* 13. 2; cf. K. HADJIIOANNOU, *Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος* (n. 11), I [1985²], p. 366-367 no. 119) has nothing whatsoever to do with our problem. It is one of the last attestations of the exploitation of the Cypriot copper mines in Antiquity: see R. HALLEUX, *Les mines de Chypre* (n. 34), p. 388 with n. 52.

and to postulate a sufficiently numerous Jewish presence in 'his' mines. It is true that the half-Jew Herod was genuinely concerned with the rights and the fate of the Diaspora Jews⁴⁸, but in Cyprus there were at the time apparently no problems between Jews and Greeks or Jews and the Roman authorities. On the other hand, we know that Herod, being anything but chauvinistic, was inclined to pose outside Judaea as a Hellenistic monarch rather than as a Jewish king⁴⁹.

What Kokkinos writes about the Cypriot 'aristocrat' Timios, the husband of Alexandra, who was the granddaughter of Herod's brother Phasael I, is very interesting but remains purely speculative. All we know about him is that he was a Κύπριος ἀνὴρ, τῶν ἀξιολόγων⁵⁰. Not every Cypriot aristocrat was a copper trader or the like.

Or should we perhaps look in the direction of servile labour and chain gangs? In the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* Lea Roth prudently raises the possibility of criminal Jews condemned to forced labour, in addition to (free) Jews employed in the mine administration. In this connection a very intriguing suggestion was made by Schalit: Herod would have used the Cypriot mines as penal colonies and dumping-grounds for the many and extremely dangerous Jewish rebels (regarded as 'criminals') captured in his own country⁵¹. Cyprus was not as remote as Van Diemen's Land, but there would still be a sea safely separating them from their unruly homeland. What is interesting about Schalit's thesis is that behind the transfer of the mines, with its obvious financial aspects, there would have been a clear political design figured out by both Augustus and the king.

But in the end one has to recognize, with Dubin and Morris in their *Rough Guide*, that we have «no clear idea of who was actually living (or) working ... at Tamassos». The same holds for the other mine sites. In fact there is no positive indication at all that Jews (be they slaves, convicts, free workers, employees or entrepreneurs) would have played any specific rôle in Herod's Cypriot enterprise.

⁴⁸ See E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* (n. 9), I, p. 319.

⁴⁹ E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* (n. 9), I, p. 310-313, esp. 312: «(he) prided himself of being closer to the Hellenes than to the Jews».

⁵⁰ Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* XVIII 131. It is a bit strange, therefore, to find him referred to as «Timius of Soloi?» because of his hypothetical connections with the mines: N. KOKKINOS, *The Herodian Dynasty. Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, Suppl. 30), Sheffield 1998, p. 176.

⁵¹ See esp. König *Herodes* (n. 9), p. 248-251.

4. THE TRANSACTION

According to Josephus, Herod received «half the revenue from the copper mines» as well as «the management of, or responsibility for, the half (of the copper mines)».

Taking Josephus very literally, in line with the English and Dutch translators quoted above, who, of course, are bound strictly to the text, one would be inclined to reckon with two different halves: one half and ‘the *other* half’. That was also the interpretation of Hadjiioannou and Kokkinos. It would imply that Herod in a certain way took control of the entire copper production of the island in the sense that he received half the output of the copper mines plus the *epimeleia* of the remainder. But such an interpretation makes little sense as half the mines do not necessarily produce half the copper: in this case $1/2$ plus $1/2$ do not exactly equal 1, the two halves being of a different order.

So we can easily understand that several authors, trying to avoid the trap of wearisome and irrelevant discussions, speak only in more or less general terms of «a share» in «the» copper mines of Cyprus and the like (Hackett, Alastos, Roth, Hadjidemetriou, Robertson, Dubbin-Morris).

Others have tried to interpret Josephus’ clumsy phrasing in a more accurate way and to examine how the ‘two halves’ were related and could be linked to one another. To the modern reader their interpretation and exposition are not always more transparent than Josephus’ (which is e.g. the case with Mitford⁵²), the more so because — as already pointed out — they sometimes wrongly reduce the Cypriot mines to those of a particular area like Soloi. We will not revert here to this discussion.

In fact, it seems that only two interpretations can really make sense of what Josephus tried to explain.

The first reasonable solution is to see in Josephus’ second ἡμίσεια (sc. μοῖρα⁵³) a mere explication or qualification of the first. Herod received half the revenues, *that implies that* (or: *in other words, by doing so*, καὶ meaning: «and *at the same time*») he got half the mines under his full supervision and responsibility, taking the full revenues of this one half, the other half remaining in the full possession of (and subject to the full exploitation by) Augustus. It means that management and revenues would

⁵² In all probability Mitford intended the same interpretation as Otto and Hill (see *infra*), but his formulation is less sharp and consistent.

⁵³ Cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT-JONES, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. ἡμισυς, II 2.

have been completely combined. That was the interpretation of Otto, Hill⁵⁴, and Kyrris. But the problem for us is – as it probably was for the persons involved – how to determine this «half»: half the *number* of the copper mines or a limited part of them on the basis of their *output*, amounting to fifty percent of the yearly production? The latter option looks more logical and seems to make the overlap and identification of ‘both’ halves more consistent. Nevertheless, it remains complicated, as it had still to be established which mines exactly had to come under Herod’s orders.

The other interpretation, advocated by Marquardt, Blümner and very explicitly by Broughton, Gabba, and Richardson, is therefore in my opinion the more probable. Here we have to understand that Herod had a right to half the copper production (*implying* that he was responsible for the *exploitation* of the mines in question) and that concerning the *other* half (of the revenues), he had *only* the *epimeleia* (of the mines concerned), i.e. without the revenues. Such an interpretation is only possible with the given sequence of the two stipulations in Josephus’ text. It means that Herod received *all* the copper mines under his supervision and that he was allowed to keep *half* the revenues extracted from them⁵⁵. Though less lucrative to Herod, this kind of regulation was much easier to organize.

Unfortunately, it is not specified for how long the concession was initially given or when it actually ended⁵⁶. Nor do we know if it was already interrupted or even simply abolished in 10/9-8 BC, when a temporary but dramatic deterioration arose in the relations between the two leaders⁵⁷.

At any rate, practically all scholars interpret the transfer of the mines in strict legal terms of a leasing contract, as the result of a formal deal,

⁵⁴ In fact W. OTTO (art. *Herodes* 14, in: *RE Suppl.* II, 1913, col. 1-158, esp. 90) and G. HILL (*A History of Cyprus* [n. 16], p. 238, referring to Otto) say that Herod received half the revenue from the Soloi mines (cf. *supra*) and that he was entrusted with the management of *this* half. However, these halves, being of a different order, as already noted, can strictly speaking not fully overlap. Nevertheless, what they really mean is sufficiently clear.

⁵⁵ It seems better, strictly speaking, to put it this way (half the revenues of all the mines) than to speak of «the revenue of half the copper mines» as does P. RICHARDSON, *Herod* (n. 15), p. 278.

⁵⁶ At any rate, it seems unlikely that it was intended to automatically pass down to the king’s heirs: from the Roman point of view even royal authority was not hereditary as the succession each time had to be ratified by the emperor: cf. E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* (n. 9), I, p. 316.

⁵⁷ See W. OTTO, art. *Herodes* (n. 54), col. 122-127; E. SCHÜRER, *History of the Jewish People* (n. 9), I, p. 323; cf. p. 293.

the *princeps* farming them out against a (once-only⁵⁸ or yearly?) payment of 300 talents. Otto is quite definite: «Josephus spricht hier fälschlich von gegenseitigen Schenkungen». But I prefer to believe Josephus, who clearly speaks of donations and according to whose report the meeting of the princes, for all its constitutional implications, took place on a high but strictly personal level. So, in my opinion there was no *direct* link between the mines and the talents. Both belonged to a package of ‘spontaneous’ mutual liberalities. The only, evident, obligation for Herod was the maintenance, upkeep and good functioning of the mines, and it was up to him how to accomplish a task that could only be to his own advantage.

As we pointed out at the beginning of the present article, the exact destination of the 300 talents is to a certain extent dependent on whether we should read ποιοῦμενος or ποιοῦμενον. In the first case the talents for the emperor and the games for the people together make up the king’s contribution, just like Augustus’ part was more than only the gift of the mines. According to the other reading (the one preferred by modern editors), there was probably a link between the talents and the games but certainly not between the talents and the mines.

At the time, after the reconciliation between Herod and his sons thanks to the good offices of his mighty friend the *princeps*, who by strengthening the ties with the dynasty had managed to strengthen his grip on Judaea, both leaders found themselves in a state of euphoria. The renewed friendship between the «flamboyant philhellene» with a reputation of «benefactor on an empire-wide scale»⁵⁹ and his suzerain, less flamboyant but gifted with an unerring insight into the character of others and eager to continue a good relationship with a *rex socius et amicus populi Romani*, found its natural expression in an exchange of spectacular liberalities.

In such circumstances people of their status and mentality were not likely to stoop to mean business like concluding lease contracts. Even if the mutual donations were expected to be balanced, they were nonetheless presented and felt as pure gifts.

The donation of the mines strikingly recalls the Hellenistic *dôreai*. A typical case in point was the large estate near Philadelphia conceded

⁵⁸ Thus, W. OTTO, art. *Herodes* (n. 54), col. 90; E. GABBA, in: A. KASHER – U. RAPPA-PORT – G. FUKS (edd.), *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, Jerusalem 1990, p. 160-168, esp. 163 («*una tantum*» [a typically Italo-Latin locution as it seems, meaning: ‘per una volta soltanto, in via straordinaria’], with thanks to my colleague D. Sacré)).

⁵⁹ Tessa RAJAK, art. *Herod the Great*, in: *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1996³, p. 694.

by Ptolemy II to Apollonios the *dioikêtês*: the minister received his *dôrea* with the obligation to bring it into cultivation while enjoying all the profits⁶⁰. Nevertheless, to use a term of Roman law, such a gift also had all the characteristics of a *precarium*: at any given moment the donor could reclaim his property. That is what happened to Apollonios (before or soon after his death) in 245 BC and what perhaps was going to happen in the case of the 'Great' but increasingly capricious and unpredictable king of the Jews.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
Afdeling Oude Geschiedenis

Hans HAUBEN

⁶⁰ The basic study is still M. ROSTOVITZ, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C. A Study in Economic History*, Madison 1922. Cf. now Cl. ORRIEUX, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec*, Paris 1985.

COLLEGIA IN THE PROVINCE OF EGYPT IN THE FIRST CENTURY AD*

Abstract: In this article I explore the apparent discrepancy between the restrictive statutory Roman legislation on *collegia* and the documentation on associations in 1st-century Egypt. After exploration of the legal background, I examine the testimony of Philo, *In Flaccum* 4, which reveals that the dissolution of *hetaireiai* and *synodoi* is not part of an empire-wide ban, but is firmly embedded in the history of Alexandria and in the urge of its prefect A. Flaccus to re-establish law and order. The second testimony providing the imposition of a fine on people taking part in associations, *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §108, is so fragmentary as to allow only speculation about its context. It could preserve a clause either from A. Flaccus' restrictions or from a tax regulation. The investigation suggests that the discrepancy between the literary tradition of a general ban and the documentary evidence on *collegia* is probably superficial, and it can be reconciled, if we reconsider the nature and the extent of the prohibition imposed by A. Flaccus, as a local and temporary police measure aiming to dissolve the nuclei of opposition and anti-Roman feeling in early 1st-century Alexandria.

In an earlier work I have argued that, at least in Asia Minor, the Roman legislation on *collegia* seems to have been enforced intermittently. Before the ink dried, I came across an article by Luuk de Ligt, a Dutch social historian, who has reached similar conclusions concerning the overall implementation of the Roman legislation on *collegia*. De Ligt thought that Egypt deserved special investigation, while I have only hinted at the discrepancy between the documentary evidence and the legislation¹.

It has been claimed that the restrictive statutory legislation on *collegia*, introduced by a *Lex Iulia* sometime between 49 and 44 BC, was extended to Egypt². Two pieces of evidence for the implementation of these restrictions

* All translations of literary texts are drawn from the Loeb editions, except Philo's *In Flaccum* for which I adopted the translation of Box, H. (1939) *Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum*, London. I would like to thank P.M. Fraser and L. de Ligt for their comments on earlier drafts of this article; any remaining mistakes are, of course, my responsibility.

¹ L. DE LIGT, *Governmental Attitudes towards Markets and Collegia*, in E. LO CASCIO, (ed.), *Mercati permanenti e mercati periodici nel mondo romano*. Atti degli incontri capresi di storia dell'economia antica (Capri 13-15 ottobre 1997), Bari 2000, p. 237-252, esp. 248 n. 51; I.N. ARNAUTOGLOU, *Roman Law and Collegia in Asia Minor*, *RIDA* 49 (2002), p. 27-44, esp. 33.

² F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *Storia delle corporazioni e del regime associativo nel mondo romano*, Bari 1971, p. 247-248 and 266-267: «Anche e queste province dovette essere stato

are adduced, a) the dissolution of *etaireiai* and *synodoi* reported by Philo in his work *In Flaccum* and b) the provision in the *Gnomon of Idios Logos* §108 according to which participation in *synodoi* was penalized. However, M. San Nicolò³ already pointed out the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the inscriptions and papyri referring to *collegia*, and on the other hand, the mainly literary testimonies of a ban; surprisingly few scholars took into account his observation⁴. How are we to reconcile the statutory restrictions with the sustained activity of *collegia* in 1st-century Egypt? Is the dissolution reported by Philo part of a general, empire-wide ban or a specific response to events in Alexandria? Does the fragmentary but severe provision of *Gnomon* §108 pertain to all kinds of associations? Before embarking on an investigation of these questions, it is useful to review briefly the legal background on associations in the first-century AD Roman empire.

1. LEGAL BACKGROUND

The history of statutory limitations on *collegia* peaks in the middle of the first century BC. The latest in a series of bans on associations was issued by Julius Caesar sometime between 49-44 BC (Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 42.3: *cuncta collegia praeter antiquitus constituta distraxit* and Fl. Josephus, *AJ* XIV 10.8); a *lex Iulia* followed, according to which *collegia* that

ben presto esteso il sistema restrittivo ispirato ai principii della *lex Iulia*: in Egitto infatti all'epoca di Tiberio, il prefetto Avilio Flacco sopprime tutte le "eterie" che si erano abusivamente costituite»; W. COTTER, *The Collegia and Roman Law. State Restrictions on Voluntary Associations, 64 BCE-200 CE*, in J.B. KLOPPENBORG – S.C. WILSON (eds), *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, London 1996, p. 74-89, esp. 80: «We possess no law of Tiberius concerning the restrictions of *collegia* in the provinces but the strict control of them in Egypt under Tiberius' appointed governor, Flaccus, suggests that Tiberius' distrust of guilds had become imperial policy for the empire ... But it would seem overly rigorous to conclude that Tiberius' exceptionally strict measures with foreign cults and Flaccus' adamant censure of any guilds meant that Egypt alone aroused the suspicion of the emperor about the formation of guilds». More modestly, however, R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri (332 B.C.-640 A.D.)*, Warszawa 1955, p. 647, has written: «At any rate it is an established fact that in the Roman period Alexandrian associations were dissolved». Cf. the discussion in R. MENTXAKA, *El derecho de asociación en Roma a la luz del cap. 74 de la 'Lex Irnitana'*, *BIDR* 37-38 (1995-96), p. 199-218, esp. 204-205.

³ *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer (MBPAR, 2)*, 2 vol., München 1913-1915; see n. 16 below.

⁴ See P.M. MEYER, *Juristische Papyri. Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die juristische Papyruskunde*, Berlin 1920, p. 343, and L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 248 n. 51, who quotes Meyer selectively.

were not ancient were prohibited. Any new *collegium* theretofore could be founded by the authority of a senatorial decree and only if it performs a useful function for the community⁵. The law fell into abeyance during the civil wars of the late Republic and it was Augustus, according to Suetonius (*Divus Augustus* 32: *collegia praeter antiqua et legitima dissoluit* and D.C. 54.2), who re-activated the law, slightly modified; Augustus exempted from the provisions of the law the ancient and legitimate associations. But it is not clear how an ancient and legitimate association was defined. Given the turbulent political history of the late republican Rome, it is possible to argue that what was understood as ancient *collegia* in Caesar's time, were those that were not affected by the Republic's policy reversals in the mid-first century and especially after 64 BC; legitimate would be considered the groups that were set up following the procedures provided in *Lex Iulia de collegiis*⁶. But, despite the ban, associations in Asia Minor continued to be active⁷. Sometime in the second half of Augustus' reign a *senatus consultum* was issued, according to which, people of lesser means (*tenuiores*) were allowed to assemble once a month and contribute to a common treasury. There are two sources for this *senatus consultum* (*de collegiis tenuiorum*), (a) an inscription of *cultores Dianae et*

⁵ See R. MENTXAKA, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 212, and L. DE LIGT, *D. 47, 22, 1, pr.-1 and the Formation of Semi-Public Collegia*, *Latomus* 60 (2001), p. 345-358, esp. 346.

⁶ See F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 239-244; S. RANDAZZO, '*Senatus consultum quo illicita collegia arcentur*' (*D. 47, 22, 1, 1*), *BIDR* 33-34 (1991-92), p. 49-88, esp. 51; and L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 244. Cf. J. LINDERSKI, *Suetons Bericht über die Vereinsgesetzgebung unter Caesar und Augustus*, *ZRG* 79 (1962), p. 322-328. For an interpretation of the term 'ancient' see the suggestion of P.W. DUFF, *Personality in Roman Private Law*, Cambridge 1938, p. 108: «the antiquitas constituta are probably much the same as those spared by the Senate in 64».

⁷ Associations in Asia Minor, I.N. ARNAOUTOGLU, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 29-36. Note that the associational activity in the Eastern Mediterranean does not seem to cease or to slow down during the first century BC: Attica [*IG* II² 1344 & 1345]; Epidauros [*IG* IV (1) 2 679]; Boiotia [Akraiphia, *BCH* 58 (1935), p. 438]; Macedonia [Dion, *AE* 1948-49, Chron. 36 no. 4 with *BE* 1953, no. 105; Edessa, *SEG* XLVI 744; Thessaloniki, *IG* X (2) (1) 68-70, 259, 679, *SEG* XLII 625]; Thrace [Byzantion, *IByz* 30-34; Perinthos, *IPerinthos* 49A]; Kerkyra [*IG* IX (1) 712]; Kos [Maiuri, *NSill.* 466, 480; *SGDI* 3679]; Rhodes [Lindos, *AEMO* 18 (1895), p. 123 no. 4; *ILindos* 391-392, 394, 420a]; Syme [*IG* XII (3) 6]; Asia Minor [Kios, *IKios* 22; Nikaia, *Ilznik* I 103, 197; Nikomedeia, *TAM* IV (1) 22; Prusa, *IPrusa a.O.* 24; Iasos, *Ilasos* 116 & *SEG* XLIII 717; Thyssanos, *RIPR* 132; Pessinus, *OGIS* 540-541; Ephesos, *IEph* 17, 20, 4337; Smyrna, *ISmyrna* 721; Lydia, *IGR* IV 1348, *TAM* V (1) 451, 470a, 762, 972, 1098, 1870, *IManisa* 244, Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 54 no. 31]; Syrian Antiocheia [*SEG* XXXV 1483]; Sidon [*SEG* XVIII 599]; Mesopotamia [Dura-Europos, *BE* 1950, no. 211; *YCIS* 14 (1955), p. 129 no. 2]; Scythia Minor [Kallatis, *ICallatis* 43-46]; North Pontos [Pantikapaion, *CIRB* 36, 76, 78, 137, 987]. Contra, F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 264-268, and L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 244.

Antinoi, an association founded in AD 133, from Lanuvium, dated in AD 136, *CIL* XIV 2112, I, 10-13 (= *ILS* 7212; *FIRA* III 35):

kaput ex s(enatus) c(onsultum) p(opuli) R(omani): qui[bus res tenuior est, co]nvenire collegiumq(ue) habere liceat. Qui stipem menstruam conferre volen[t ad facienda sac]ra, in it collegium coeant, neq(ue) sub specie eius collegi nisi semel in mense c[oeant stipem co]nferendi causa, unde defuncti sepeliantur...

Chapter from a senatorial decree of the Roman people: It is allowed to persons of lesser means to meet and assemble a *collegium*. People wishing to contribute on a monthly basis an amount of money for sacral purposes, they can meet for this purpose as a *collegium*, and not under the guise of an existing *collegium*, unless they gather once a month in order to contribute to a fund, at the expenses of which they are going to bury the deceased⁸.

and (b) a reference of the 3rd-century jurist Marcian (*Dig.* XLVII 22.4.1):

sed permittitur tenuioribus stipem menstruam conferre, dum tamen semel in mense coeant, ne sub praetextu huiusmodi illicitum collegium coeat ...1. Sed religionis causa coire non prohibentur, dum tamen per hoc non fiat contra senatus consultum, quo illicita collegia arcentur

But the lower orders are allowed to pay a small monthly fee, provided that they meet however only once a month, lest an unlawful association be created under this guise... There is, however, no ban on assembly for religious purposes, so long as there is no contravention of the *senatus consultum* which prohibits unlawful *collegia*⁹.

It is clear from the combination of both sources that, as de Ligt claimed¹⁰, a *senatus consultum de collegiis* was issued, which probably altered substantially the Julian ban on *collegia*, relaxed the prohibition on forming *collegia* and allowed the setting up of *collegia tenuiorum*, provided that they assemble once a month and contribute to a common fund for burial. Subsequently, de Ligt argued that three categories of associations were excluded from the ban; associations of *neoi*, *gerontes* and *Augustales* were allowed to be formed without any prior authorisation, since they

⁸ I adopted the text as restored by L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 246-247; see also his discussion, p. 246-248.

⁹ Translation of A. WATSON, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. II, Philadelphia 1985. See S. RANDAZZO, *art. cit.* (n. 6), p. 68, who argues that the *senatus consultum* mentioned in the Digest bears no relation with the *senatus consultum* mentioned in *CIL* XIV 2112; the latter should be dated in Hadrian's reign. See now S. RANDAZZO, *I 'collegia tenuiorum' fra libertà di associazione e controllo senatorio*, *SDHI* 64 (1998), p. 229-244.

¹⁰ *Art. cit.* (n. 1).

were considered as semi-public groups¹¹. The aforementioned *senatus consultum de collegiis* may have effectively opened the floodgates for the formation of *collegia*, since in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period almost every *collegium* had religious activities or the obligation to provide for the burial of their members¹². In particular, in Egypt there are at least two documents, *P. Mich.* V 243 (AD 14-37) and 244 (AD 43), referring to the funeral duties of the fellow-members, such as attending the funeral and organising feasts¹³. Subsequent bans on associations as reported during the reign of Tiberius, but especially during those of Claudius and Trajan, might have been nothing more than temporary police measures¹⁴.

This impression is corroborated by the remark of M. San Nicolò made nearly a century ago that in the province of Egypt there is no indication, in the documentary evidence, that either permission to found an association was granted or an application was ever submitted to this effect¹⁵.

¹¹ See L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 356-357.

¹² See O. VAN NIJF, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, Amsterdam 1997, p. 10, and L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 346 n. 12 and 348 n. 19.

¹³ *P. Mich.* V 243.9-11: ἐάν τις τῶν συνοδειτῶν τελευτήσῃ, ξυράσθωσαν πάντες καὶ ἐστιάτωσαν ἡμέρ(αν) α, ἐκάστου παραχρῆμα εἰσφέροντος (δραχμὴν) α καὶ κάκεις δύο, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστιά(τωσαν) ἡμέρ(αν) α («if one of the members dies, let all be shaved and let them hold a feast for one day, each bringing at once one drachma and two loaves, and in the case of other bereavements, let them hold a feast for one day») and 244.16-18: ἐάν δὲ τις κεφαλεώτης τελευτήσῃ <ῖ> πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ ἢ γυνὴ ἢ τέκνον ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μὴ μιανθῇ τις τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων ἀνδρῶν ζημιούσθωι ὁ τοιοῦτος εἰς τὸ κυνὸν ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τέσσαρες καὶ εἰσ-τιαθῆσεται ὁ παθὴνός ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνοῦ ἐφ' ἡμέραν μίαν («and if a president or a father or mother or wife or child or brother or sister dies and any one of the undersigned men does not attend the funeral, let such a one be fined four drachmas for the association and the one who is bereaved shall be feasted by the association for one day»). See A.E.R. BOAK, *The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt*, *TAPhA* 68 (1937), p. 218.

¹⁴ According to Dio Cassius, *Roman History* LX 6.6-7, Claudius τάς τε ἐταιρείας ἐπαναχθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαίου διέλυσε; see L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 247-248. Restrictions during Trajan's reign: Plin., *Epist.* X 33-34 and 92-93 with L. DE LIGT, *ibid.*, p. 245, and I.N. ARNAOUTOGLU, *art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 37-39. Assessment of *collegia* as a threat to public order, O.F. ROBINSON, *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1995, p. 80-81.

¹⁵ M. SAN NICOLÒ, *op. cit.* (n. 3), II, p. 11: «Grundsätzlich sollte also in römischer Zeit jeder Verein in Ägypten, als einer kaiserlichen Provinz, zu seiner Gründung die Autorisation des Kaisers erhalten haben. Trotzdem aber ist in den zahlreichen Urkunden aus dieser Periode nicht ein einziges Mal von der Gewährung einer Konzession oder dem Ansuchen um eine solche die Rede», and his conclusions on p. 14: «Im allgemeinen aber berechtigt uns das vollständige Schweigen der ziemlich zahlreichen Inschriften und Papyri die Ansicht zu vertreten, daß die Römer die freien Rechtsverhältnisse der ptolemäischen Zeit bezüglich der Gründung von Vereinen in Ägypten nicht wesentlich abgeändert und keinesfalls einen allgemeineren Konzessionszwang durch den Kaiser oder Statthalter eingeführt haben». See also P.M. MEYER, *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 343; L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 1),

With the Roman conquest of Egypt in 30 BC the restrictive regulations concerning *collegia* were imported in Egypt as part of Roman public law. The associations existing in 30 BC were probably considered ancient and therefore they were regarded as legal by the Romans at that date. If de Ligt's dating¹⁶ of the Augustan intervention is correct, then any statutory restrictions and exemptions would have applied to any association founded definitely after 30 BC and possibly in the second half of Augustus' reign. However, for the period to the change of eras there are nine inscriptions and papyri referring to *synodoi* (see Appendix 1); two of them were devoted to imperial cult [BGU IV 1137 (WChr 112) and SB XXII 15460, 5 BC] and there is nothing to suggest that the members of the *synodoi* asked for a previous authorisation. This would mean that the Egyptian *synodoi* were considered as ancient and legitimate, since most Egyptian groups fulfilled, among others, and religious tasks for their members. It is, therefore, likely that they would not require the authorisation of the Romans. M. San Nicolò's remark about the lack of evidence on petitioning or granting the right to found an association, fits nicely in this scheme. However, this interpretation has an interesting ramification for our understanding of the Roman attitude and the implementation of the *collegia*-legislation. It means that Roman legislation on *collegia* was not as strict and rigid as it was envisaged; associations, religious and professional, could manipulate their multi-functional nature in order to adapt to the requirements of the *senatus consultum de tenuiorum*. In this respect, the hypothesis that Roman authorities turned a blind eye to apparently illegally constituted associations may be nothing more than an intelligent guess. Associations followed the rules laid down in early Principate, but they interpreted these rules in such a manner as to suit their own interests.

2. THE TESTIMONY OF PHILO

According to Philo, A. Avillius Flaccus was a friend (*etairos*) of Tiberius and he was appointed Prefect of Egypt in late AD 32 (Philo, *Flaccus* 2 &

p. 248 n. 51, omits Meyer's statement «Die außerordentlich große Zahl von Vereinen, die uns, wie in anderen Provinzen des Reichs, so auch in Ägypten begegnen, zeigt aber, dass dieses Verbot und seine Straffolgen in der Praxis nicht allzu streng gehandhabt wurden». For the motives of similar applications, recorded mainly in the western part of the empire, see, L. DE LIGT, *art. cit.* (n. 5), p. 349-350.

¹⁶ *Art. cit.* (n. 1).

158)¹⁷. He was removed from that post sometime in October of AD 38 (Philo, *Flaccus* 8). Flaccus' prominent place in the history of the early Roman empire is guaranteed by his involvement in the persecution of Jews, following the succession of Tiberius to the throne. As Prefect he had the *ius edicendi*; the edict (in Greek usually called *diatagma*) was published in Alexandria, at the headquarters of the prefect. Copies of the edict were sent to the *strategoi* of the *nomoi*, who publicized it in the capital of the *nomoi* and in turn informed the lower rank officials. The implementation of an edict may have been patchy and sometimes a new promulgation was required. The validity of the provisions of an edict did not expire with the removal of the issuing Prefect. The legislative powers of the Prefect were limited only by imperial legislation. While in office Flaccus issued in AD 34/35 an edict (*WChr* 13 and possibly Philo, *Flaccus* 92) — preserved unfortunately in a fragmentary state — punishing the carrying of weapons with death¹⁸. Flaccus is also attested in the edict of Tib. Jul. Alexander (AD 68)¹⁹ as having abolished the right of *ateleia* for certain properties; his name appears in a dedication of a *pronaos* in *OGIS* 661 (AD 32-37), in a receipt of payment *O. Bodl.* II 972 (= *WChr* 414, Thebes, AD 33), in *IGR* I 1290, c. 9 and in *P. Bibl. Univ. Giss.* 46, IV, 25. In the beginning of his treatise *In Flaccum* §§2-5, Philo

¹⁷ The evidence for the prefecture of A. Avillius Flaccus is collected by G. BASTIANINI, *Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30a al 299p*, *ZPE* 17 (1975), p. 271, with additions in *ZPE* 38 (1980), p. 76, and in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 503-517; see also J. SCHWARTZ, *Préfets d'Égypte sous Tibère et Caligula*, *ZPE* 48 (1982), p. 189-192, and P. BURETH (†), *Le préfet d'Égypte (30 av. J.C. – 297 ap. J.C.): État présent de la documentation en 1973*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 477. The most recent study of the prefect in Roman Egypt is R. KATZOFF, *Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: The Role of the Prefect*, in *ANRW* II 13 (1980), p. 807-844; cf. the remarks of J. MÉLÈZE MODRZEJEWSKI in *SDHI* 47 (1981), p. 570-571, and N. LEWIS, *Prefectural Edicts. A Rejoinder*, in P. ARTZI (ed.), *Confrontation and Coexistence (Bar Ilan Studies in History, 2)*, Ramat Gan 1985, p. 77-78. See also R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 568; O. MONTEVECCHI, *L'amministrazione dell'Egitto sotto i Giulio-Claudi*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 412-471; and A.K. BOWMAN, *Egypt*, in *CAH²* X (1996), p. 682. Content of prefects' edicts, J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *Le règle de droit dans l'Égypte romaine (État des questions et perspectives de recherches)*, in D.H. SAMUEL (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology (American Studies in Papyrology, 7)*, Toronto 1970, p. 317-377, esp. 339. Judicial authority of prefect, B. ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS, *Juge et sentence dans l'Égypte romaine (Études de philosophie et d'histoire du droit, 6)*, Paris 1991, p. 173-178.

¹⁸ See R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *Das Strafrecht im Rechte der Papyri*, Leipzig 1916 (reprint Aalen 1962), p. 94; P.A. BRUNT, *Did Imperial Rome Disarm her Subjects?*, *Phoenix* 29 (1975), p. 260-270; G. PURPURA, *Gli editti dei prefetti d'Egitto I sec. a.C. – I sec. d.C.*, *ASGP* 42 (1992), p. 485-671, esp. 502-507.

¹⁹ For the text see the edition of G. CHALON, *L'édit de Tiberius Julius Alexander. Étude historique et exégétique (Biblioteca Helvetica Romana, 5)*, Lausanne 1964, p. 27-39.

praises Flaccus for his stewardship of the province; Flaccus has shown excellence, assiduity, fairness, organisational spirit and concern for maintaining peace. To this purpose Flaccus

ἔδिकाζε τὰ μεγάλα μετὰ τῶν ἐν τέλει, τοὺς ὑπεραύχους καθήρει, μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἀνθρώπων ὄχλον ἐκώλυεν ἐπισυνίστασθαι· τὰς τε ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους, αἱ ἂν ἐπὶ προφάσει θυσιῶν εἰσιτῶντο τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐμπαροίνουσαι, διέλυε τοῖς ἀφηνιάζουσιν ἐμβριθῶς καὶ εὐτόνως προσφερόμενος

He decided suits of importance with the magistrates; put down the overproud; prevented a promiscuous, indiscriminately mixed mass of humanity from being organized to the danger of the peace; and dissolved the associations and guilds, which were continually holding feasts on the pretext of sacrifice and misconducted their offices by insobriety, dealing drastically and peremptorily with the recalcitrant (*Flaccus* 4)²⁰.

It is possible that this éloge is nothing more than part of a rhetorical exaggeration of Flaccus' previous efforts to keep the province peaceful, so that his transformation, following the death of Tiberius in AD 37, would seem all the more dramatic and self-serving, something that Philo himself admits in *Flaccus* 7:

ἐπαινῶ τὸν Φλάκκον, οὐκ ἐπειδὴ προσῆκεν ἐχθρὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν, ἀλλ' ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἀριδηλοτέραν παραστήσω

I am praising Flaccus, not because it is right to praise an enemy, but to present his villainy more conspicuously²¹.

²⁰ There is an interesting description by Athenaeus of an Alexandrian banquet, depicting very vividly the atmosphere and the accusations of Philo; Ath. X 420e: Οἱ δὲ νῦν συγάγοντες ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς καλῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βοῶσι, κεκράγασι, βλασφημοῦσι τὸν οἰνοχόον, τὸν διάκονον, τὸν μάγειρον· κλαίουσι δ' οἱ παῖδες τυπτόμενοι κονδύλοις ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν, καὶ οὐχ οἷον οἱ κεκλημένοι μετὰ πάσης ἀηδίας δειπνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κἄν τύχη θυσία τις οὔσα, παρακαλυπόμενος ὁ θεὸς οἰχῆσεται καταλιπὼν οὐ μόνον τὸν οἶκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν («People who gather for dinner-parties today, especially if they come from fair Alexandria, shout, bawl, and objurgate the wine-pourer, the waiter, and the chef; the slaves are in tears, being buffeted by knuckles right and left. To say nothing of the guests, who thus dine in complete embarrassment; if the occasion happen to be a religious festival, even the god will cover his face and depart, abandoning not only the house but also the entire city»). See also Dio Chrysostom 32 (Πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς) 55 and 70-71 for *etaireiai* in Alexandria.

²¹ E.M. SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian. A Study in Political Relations (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, 20)*, Leiden 1976 [reprint 1981], p. 236 n. 63, and R. BARRACLOUGH, *Philo's Politics. Roman Rule and Hellenistic Judaism*, in *ANRW* II 21.1 (1984), p. 417-553, esp. 461-462. See also J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramsès II à Hadrien*, Paris 1991, p. 135, for the Hellenistic roots of the model governor, as described by Philo, and R. ALSTON, *The City in Roman*

The description of the action taken by Flaccus in regard to associations points clearly to two different directions; Flaccus did not only disband *hetaireiai* and *synodoi*, but also did not allow the formation of groups that may subvert the civic peace. The use of the terms *hetaireiai* and *synodoi* is remarkable, since the term *synodos* appears several times in inscriptions of that era. Philo is aware of the Roman anxiety against *hetaireiai* and their subversive role.

The reliability of Philo is confirmed by another passage, in which he draws a very vivid picture of the activities and the role of, at least, some *collegia* during Flaccus' prefecture. When referring to the activities of prominent anti-Roman activists, such as Isidoros, one of the leaders²² and in a denunciatory passage, §§136-137, Philo claims that Isidoros was the head of *symposia* and *klinai*,

θίασοι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶ πολὺάνθρωποι, ὧν κατάρχει τῆς κοινωνίας οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς, ἀλλ' ἄκρατος καὶ μέθη καὶ παροινίαί καὶ ἡ τούτων ἔκγονος ὕβρις· σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι προσονομάζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων. ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς θιάσοις ἢ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁ Ἰσίδωρος τὰ πρωτεῖα φέρεται καὶ λέγεται ὁ συμποσίαρχος, ὁ κλινάρχης, ὁ ταραξίπολις. εἴτα ὅταν τι βουλευθῇ διαπραΰσασθαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀφ' ἑνὸς συνθήματος ἀθρόως συνέρχονται καὶ τὸ κελευσθὲν λέγουσι καὶ δρῶσι

There are numerous confraternities in Alexandria, the source of whose associations is no wholesome thing, but unmixed wine and strong drink, and drunken acts and wantonness, the offspring of these. They are given names of 'Synods' and 'Couches' by the natives. In all or the greatest number of confraternities Isidorus carries off the first prize and is called the toast-master (*symposiarchos*), feast-master (*klinarches*), city-troubler. Then whenever he wants to perpetrate some unprofitable act, at one signal they come together in a body and say and do what they are bidden.

and *Byzantine Egypt*, London 2002, p. 227ff. One may add that the freedom of association was not regarded as a trait of monarchies (Isoc., *Nicocles* 54) or tyrannical regimes (Arist., *Pol.* V 9.2 [1313a34-b7]).

²² For the career of Isidoros and his trial during Claudius' reign, see J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, Η δίκη του Ισιδώρου: Ποινική καταστολή και ιδεολογική αναμέτρηση μεταξύ Αλεξάνδρειας και Ρώμης, in *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 61 (1986), p. 245-275. A. LUKASZEWICZ, *Some Remarks on the Trial of Isidorus and on Isidorus Junior*, *JJP* 30 (2000), p. 59-65, published an interesting inscription, in which he relates the Isidoros mentioned there with the known Isidoros from *In Flaccum*. See also ID., *Tiberius Claudius Isidorus: Alexandrian Gymnasiarch and Epistrategus of Thebaid*, in Tr. GAGOS – R.S. BAGNALL (eds), *Essays and Texts in Honor of J. David Thomas (American Studies in Papyrology, 42)*, Toronto 2001, p. 125-130. Cf. the critical remarks of J. BINGEN in *ZPE* 138 (2002), p. 119-120.

Philo uses the word *thiasoi* as a generic term for all associations and he points out the particular names (*synodoi*, *klinai*), which were used by the locals (Greeks and Egyptians). Documentary evidence corroborates this use; the term *kline* appears in *P. Oxy.* 3164 (AD 73), 110 (2nd century AD) and 1484 (2nd/3rd century AD), and in a 3rd-century inscription [*IG X* (2) (1) 192 (= *SIRIS* 111)] from Thessalonike, in which Po. Ail. Neikanor, *prostatês* of a cult group devoted to the worship of Sarapis is honoured by his *sunthreskeutai*; a *klinarchês* is mentioned in *BGU VI* 1233 (2nd century BC) and in letter on an *ostrakon*, *O. Strasb.* 791 (2nd century AD). Once more the documentary record of *collegia*, proves that Philo's terminology corresponds to the realities of first-century Egypt²³.

If Philo's information is accurate, can we identify the restrictive intervention in Flaccus' Alexandria? Smallwood²⁴, followed by de Ligt²⁵, suggested that the edict dissolving associations was issued in response to an incident in the gymnasium of Alexandria, described in §§138-140²⁶.

²³ See T. SELAND, *Philo and the Clubs and Associations of Alexandria*, in J.B. KLOPPENBORG – S.C. WILSON (eds), *op. cit.* (n. 2), London 1996 p. 110.

²⁴ *Op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 236 n. 64.

²⁵ *Art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 248.

²⁶ Philo, *In Flaccum* 138-140: καὶ ποτε τῷ Φλάκκῳ δυσχεράνας, ὅτι δόξας παρ' αὐτῷ τις εἶναι κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ἐσπουδάζετο, μισθοδοτήσας τοὺς ἀλειφοβίους καὶ φωνασκεῖν εἰωθότας, οἱ τὰς καταβολὰς ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀγορὰς πιπράσκουσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν ὀνητικῶς, παρακελεύει συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον. οἱ δὲ πληρώσαντες αὐτὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως κατηγοροῦν, ἀγέννητα πλάττοντες ἐγκλήματα καὶ ψευδεῖς ῥήσεις δι' ἀναπαίστων καὶ μακρὰς συνείροντες, ὡς καταπεπληχθαι μὴ μόνον Φλάκκον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ καὶ, ὅπερ ἦν, συμβαλεῖν, ὅτι πάντως ἐστὶ τις ᾧ χαρίζονται, μὴτ' αὐτοὶ τι πεπονθότες ἀνήκεστον μῆτε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν εὖ εἰδότες πλημμεληθεῖσαν. ἔπειτα βουλευόμενοι ἔδοξε συλλαβεῖν τινὰς καὶ τὴν αἰτίας τῆς ἀκρίτου καὶ αἰφνιδίου μανίας καὶ λύττης πυνθάνεσθαι. οἱ δὲ συλληφθέντες ἄνευ βασάνων ὁμολογοῦσι τὰληθές, ἅμα καὶ τὰς διὰ τῶν ἔργων πίστεις ἐφαρμόζοντες, τὸν διομολογηθέντα μισθόν, τὸν ἥδη δεδομένον, τὸν καθ' ὑποσχέσεις ὕστερον δοθησόμενον, τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν διανομὴν αἰρεθέντας ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνας τῆς στάσεως, τὸν τόπον, τὸν καιρὸν, ἐν ᾧ γέγονεν ἡ δωροδοκία («On one occasion he was angry with Flaccus because, while at first he had a reputation of being influential with him, he was afterwards no longer treated with the same respect. He hired the touts and bawlers who sell their shouts as though in the market to those who are disposed to buy them and ordered them to assemble in the gymnasium. They filled it and began to accuse Flaccus for no reason, inventing groundless charges and stringing together in anapaests false speeches and prolix, so that not only Flaccus but also the others were astounded at the unexpected event and conjectured, what was the fact, that there certainly was some one whose pleasure they were doing, as they had not themselves experienced any ill and knew well that the rest of the city had not been wronged. Them upon deliberation they resolved to arrest some persons and discover the cause of the reckless and sudden madness and frenzy. Those arrested admitted the truth without torture adding in attestation also proofs through facts, the pay agreed upon, the por-

When Isidoros fell into disfavour, he organized a gang to yell abuses and insults and to disparage Flaccus in the gymnasium²⁷. Some of the members of the gang were arrested and confessed the truth. As a result, Isidoros fled to avoid arrest. Philo in paragraph 145 implies that the whole affair was over for Flaccus, after Isidoros, being afraid of a pending arrest, had fled²⁸. Flaccus believed, according to Philo, that following the self-imposed exile of Isidoros, friction and intrigue will subside and peace would be re-established. However, Philo would not have missed the opportunity to mention a ban imposed on *thiasoi*, especially as these groups were under the control of Isidoros²⁹. Still, this event may have raised suspicion in Flaccus and triggered his reaction.

Flaccus' ban appears to be his own initiative for two reasons. First, there is no indication that Tiberius was ever concerned, during his reign, with *collegia*. It is true, Tiberius banned foreign cults in Rome,

tion already given, the portion according to promises afterwards to be given, the persons appointed to distribute it, as it were the leaders of the sedition, the place, the time at which the bribery had occurred»). See also G.W. BOWERSOCK, *The Mechanics of Subversion in the Roman Provinces*, in *Opposition et résistances à l'Empire d'Auguste à Trajan* (Entretiens Fondation Hardt, 33), Genève 1987, p. 291-320, who underlines the role of shrines and temples in harbouring individuals with anti-Roman leanings. For the unrest in Hellenistic Alexandria, see P. F. MITTAG, *Unruhen im hellenistischen Alexandria, Historia* 52 (2003), p. 161-208.

²⁷ For the importance of gymnasium in the geography of the city, see R. ALSTON, *Reading Augustan Alexandria, Ancient West and East* 1 (2002), p. 141-162, and *id.*, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 233.

²⁸ Philo, *In Flaccum*, 145: καὶ ὁ μὲν (i.e. Ἰσίδωρος) ἔνεκα τοῦ συνειδότητος ἀπεδίδρασκε σύλληψιν εὐλαβηθεῖς· ὁ δὲ Φλάκκος οὐδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιειργάζετο, νομίσας ἐκποδὼν ἐκουσίῳ γνῶμῃ γεγονότος ἀστασίαστα καὶ ἀνερίθευτα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι («And because of his conscience ran away, having a care of apprehension, and Flaccus took no further steps against him, thinking that now Isidorus had voluntarily removed himself the city would be free from sedition and intrigue»). H.A. MUSURILLO, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs (Acta Alexandrinorum)*, Oxford 1954 (reprint 2000), p. 96, suggested the possibility that Isidoros' trial and exile took place in the early part of Flaccus' prefecture, about the time of the dissolution of associations.

²⁹ See the description of Isidoros by Philo, *In Flaccum* 135: ἄνθρωπος ὀχλικός, δημοκόπος, ταραττεῖν καὶ συγχέειν πράγματα μεμελετηκώς, ἐχθρὸς εἰρήνῃ καὶ εὐσταθείᾳ, στάσεις καὶ θορύβους κατασκευάσαι μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, γενομένους δὲ συγκροτῆσαι καὶ συναυξῆσαι δεινός, ὄχλον ἀσύντακτον καὶ πεφορημένον ἐκ μιγάδων καὶ συγκλύδων ἡρμοσμένον περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐσπουδακώς (my italics), ὃς εἰς μοίρας καθάπερ τινὰς συμμορίας διανενέμνεται («a turbulent fellow, a demagogue, a past master in creating disorder and confusion, a foe to peace and stability, a genius at manufacturing commotions and disorders when they do not exist and at cementing and inflaming them after they had come into being, who made it his aim to have about him a disorderly and turbulent mob composed of a promiscuous floatsam, which he distributed into sections after the fashion of committees»).

and in particular he expelled the priests of Isis and the Jews³⁰. However, how and to what extent this wave of persecution involved or affected cult groups is a matter of speculation. Second, the incident in the gymnasium of Alexandria with the disparaging treatment of the Prefect, the atmosphere of intrigue and plotting sustained by the anti-Roman faction of Isidoros and Lampon, point to a tense climate in Alexandria.

If this reconstruction is broadly accurate, then the scene in the gymnasium may have been regarded by the Romans as a prelude to a *stasis*³¹. Flaccus' reaction was three-pronged: (a) he let Isidoros go into exile, thus immediately silencing the opposition at no personal cost and he proceeded (b) to forbid the carrying of weapons (hence the decree *WChr* 13), and (c) to ban the formation of associations and to dissolve *synodoi* and *hetaireiai*, which constituted nuclei of anti-Roman feelings. In this light, the dissolution of *synodoi* in Egypt has nothing to do with a blanket ban on associations but it is closely connected with the urge to re-establish law and order in Alexandria. The chronology of the dissolution of associations can only approximately be dated at or around AD 35 on the assumption that it can be linked with the edict on carrying weapons³². In this case, the ban would have lasted for a maximum period of two or three years.

3. THE EPIGRAPHICAL AND PAPYROLOGICAL EVIDENCE

So far, we have seen that (a) Roman legislation on *collegia* may not have been as rigid and strict as it was thought; only from time to time Romans (emperors or prefects) could impose restrictions (temporary and limited in certain areas) on the activity of associations, and (b) according to Philo, Flaccus had an active role in maintaining peace in the province and the dissolution of associations might have been part of a response to disturbances in Alexandria. How do these conclusions tally with the documentary evidence?

³⁰ Tac., *Ann.* II 85, Suet., *Tib.* 36 and Fl. Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVIII 65-84. See W. COTTER, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 79-80, and R. MENTXAKA, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 204, who claims that the ban of Tiberius included associations devoted to the cult of foreign deities. However, S.A. TAKACS, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 124)*, Leiden 1995, p. 56-70, concludes that the senatorial actions against the Egyptian cults should be seen in their political context and that «these sporadic actions, however, did not force a disintegration of the cult associations».

³¹ See R. ALSTON, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 229, for a similar assessment.

³² R. ALSTON, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 227, places it early in Flaccus' governorship.

The Roman conquest and the creation of the imperial province of Egypt did not affect *collegia*, immediately and profoundly. (See Appendix 1) There are, at least, nine inscriptions and papyri which testify to their existence in the last three decades of the first century BC. The documentary dossier consists mainly of dedications made by individuals who have been in office for an unknown period of time, bearing usually the title of *prostates* or sometimes *synagogos*. The term *synodos*, less often *koinon* or *syllogos*, designates an association.

But *collegia* continued to be active throughout Egypt during most of the first century AD. The forty-six entries of Appendix 2 provide a clear picture about the possible impact of any ban on the associational activity in first-century Egypt. In the long run, there was not any³³. Associations, of whatever kind, professional or religious, continue to be active and their officials put up dedications after their term in office. There are, however, three caveats in this impression of continuity. First, there is no evidence of or for associations in the second decade of the century. Second, there is a gap for the period AD 32-39; this gap may be due to the chance survival of inscriptions, but it also co-incides, strangely enough, with Flaccus' term in office and the reported dissolution of associations. However, an inscription (no. 10) dated on the twenty second year of an emperor (either Augustus or Tiberius) may turn out to belong to the period of the ban. Third, there are five inscriptions (nos. 31-35) dated approximately in the end of the first century BC and at the beginning of the first century AD, two papyri (nos. 36-37) dated in the first half of the first century, and four inscriptions, an *ostrakon* and two papyri (nos. 39-45) dated in the first century. Nevertheless, despite chronological uncertainties, *collegia* were alive and kicking in first-century Egypt.

4. GNOMON OF THE IDIOS LOGOS §108

The other piece of evidence for an alleged ban on associations in Roman Egypt is an entry in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*, the collection of regulations regarding mainly the financial administration of Egypt³⁴. The

³³ For the question of continuity in private and public law in Roman Egypt see J. MÉLÈZE-MODRZEJEWSKI, *art. cit.* (n. 17), p. 322ff.

³⁴ See P.R. SWARNEY, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (*American Studies in Papyrology*, 8), Toronto 1970, p. 123, with older bibliography. Judicial authority of the magistrate called *idiologos*, B. ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 183-186.

papyrus was found in Theadelphia, in Fayum; it is dated in the reign of the Antonines, although some of the regulations may originate in Augustus' reign. It is important to remember that the text of the *Gnomon* we have is not the authentic text but an abridged copy, in which some passages are obscure and elliptical³⁵. In §108 we read: οἱ σύνοδον νέμοντες κατεκρίθησαν ἐκ δρ(αχμῶν) φ, ἐνίστε μόν[οι] οἱ [π]ρο[σ]τάται («those belonging to a *synodos* were fined 500 drachmas, sometimes only the *prostatai* (head officers)»)³⁶. The expression used to describe the participants in an association appears also in *SB* I 983, an inscription from Memphis, dated in 17 BC, in which the members of the association are described as τοῖς νέμουσι τὴν σύνο[δον]³⁷. This resemblance between §108 and *SB* I 983, coupled with the mention in the prologue of the *Gnomon* of the emperor Augustus, makes a date for §108 to the reign of Augustus (27 BC – AD 14) to look attractive. The abridged form of the provision does not help us to understand the context. As it stands, it is clear that participation in *synodoi* (irrespective of their legality) was penalized. Meyer saw in this provision «ein prinzipielles, allgemeines Verbot aller Vereine in Ägypten voraussetzen»³⁸ without ignoring the documentary evidence. Riccobono interpreted the mentioned *synodoi* as «evidentemente deve trattarsi di associazione non autorizzata (*collegia illicita*)»³⁹. More

³⁵ See J. CARCOPINO, *Le Gnomon de l'Idiologue et son importance historique*, *REA* 24 (1922), p. 103, and P.R. SWARNEY, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 121.

³⁶ The assessment of the editors of *BGU* V that the fine is mild is confirmed by a comparison with §74 of the *Lex Irnitana*, in which the fine for founding an illicit association is 10,000 sesterces, payable to the *municipium Irnitatum*, see R. MENTXAKA, *art. cit.* (n. 2), p. 207.

³⁷ This expression appears often in the documents of *Dionysiakoi technitai* of the Hellenistic era, for which see S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten im Kontext der hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte, Organisation und Wirkung der hellenistischen Technitenvereine (Historia, Einzelschriften 163)*, Stuttgart 2003, p. 113-115. It also occurs in a 2nd-century BC inscription, possibly from Alexandria, *SB* I 4321 (Breccia, *Iscr.* 144). The puzzling expression τοῖς μένουσιν ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, is recorded in Kayser, *RIGLA* 93 (below, Appendix 2 no. 32). Cf. the expression οἱ τὴν σύνοδον φέροντες in *IG* II² 1326 (176/5 BC). In *P. Mich.* 575, a letter of AD 184 a certain Hepiodoros asks to be released from the obligation to pay a contribution to a *synodos* with the following phrase: ἀσθενῶς ἔχων καὶ δυνάμενος νέμειν τὴν κοινὴν ἀξείῳ δεξάμενος τὴν ἀπόρρυσιν (ll. 3-7).

³⁸ *Op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 343.

³⁹ S. RICCOBONO, *Il Gnomon dell' Idios Logos*, Palermo 1950, p. 247. F.M. DE ROBERTIS, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 390-395), building on Riccobono's interpretation of *synodoi* as *collegia illicita*, discusses the provision as part of the criminal responsibility of the members of *collegia*. The imposition of a fine either on the members or on the leaders was left to the discretion of magistrates.

recently, de Ligt assumed that the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §108 may reflect the content of a *mandatum* that have been modelled on the Italian *Lex Iulia de collegiis*⁴⁰. Although it is difficult to discard the hypothesis of a *mandatum* issued to extend the implementation of the *Lex Iulia* to Egypt⁴¹, the available pieces of evidence from Egypt suggest that there was not any restriction in the associational activity in Egypt (see Appendices 1 & 2). Furthermore, three key questions remain, first, in which cases the members are all liable and in which only the leaders? Second, does this provision cover all the known *collegia*, even these exempted by the ban in the *Lex Iulia de collegiis*, or only these allowed by virtue of the *senatus consultum de collegiis* as de Ligt implies? Third, how can one reconcile the absolute and severe character of this provision with the abundance of epigraphical and papyrological testimonia on *collegia*? Huzar claimed that the fine mentioned in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §108 may concern troublesome clubs resorting to violence⁴². But in this case, one would expect the associations themselves to discipline their members as it appears in e.g. *P. Lond.* 2710 (middle of the 1st century BC) or *P. Mich.* V 243-245 (first half of the 1st century AD)⁴³.

Given the elliptical and uncertain nature of *Gnomon* §108, I think we have to consider two possible alternative interpretations: So far, the only known interference of the Roman administration in the world of Egyptian *collegia* is that of Flaccus. According to Philo, not only did he dissolve associations, he also banned the formation of new ones. It is only natural to infer that this prohibition included some sanctions on those who ignored the terms of the edict. As I have mentioned above, even the wording of the *Gnomon* §108 points to an early date, possibly, but not necessarily, Augustan. It is, therefore, possible that the fine imposed

⁴⁰ *Art. cit.* (n. 1), p. 248-249 n. 50.

⁴¹ *Mandata*, that is instructions, were issued by the emperor to his appointees when they took office or in case there was a particular affair to settle, following a letter of the officeholder. Philo, *In Flaccum* 74 preserves a reference to a *mandatum* addressed to M. Magius Maximus in 14-15 AD pertaining to Jewish affairs. Philo does not mention any such instructions received by A. Flaccus in the events of 35-37 AD. Therefore, one has to assume that the extension of the application of *Lex Iulia de collegiis* in Egypt should have happened some time before Flaccus' prefecture.

⁴² E.G. HUZAR, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum in the Julio-Claudian Age*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 619-668, esp. 637.

⁴³ See A.E.R. BOAK, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 217. Fr. DE CENIVAL, *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques* (IFAO. Bibliothèque d'étude, 46), Le Caire 1972, p. 142, claimed that aim of this provision are the associations of Egyptian priests and the temples, as nuclei of resistance.

by *Gnomon* §108 may originate in Flaccus' edict dissolving and banning *collegia*, in which there was a clause about the responsibility of members and their leaders.

Alternatively, taking into account the compilatory nature of *Gnomon* and its pre-eminently fiscal character, it is likely, though not proven, that §108 may concern the failure of *collegia* to comply with their fiscal obligations⁴⁴. It is well known that since the first century AD some guilds, spontaneously in the beginning, had the taxes or licence fees collected and then paid en masse⁴⁵. Any failure to pay the taxes could result in the imposition of a fine either on a recalcitrant member of a guild or sometimes collectively on the leader(s) of the guild.

The investigation so far has demonstrated that the discrepancy between the literary tradition of a ban in first-century AD Egypt and the documentary evidence on *collegia* at the same period is probably superficial. The Roman authorities in Egypt never imposed and maintained a general ban on the formation of associations. The ban and the dissolution of *synodoi* by Flaccus, seen in its historical context, was a response to rising tensions in Alexandria. It is also possible that the provision of *Gnomon* §108 reflects this prohibition and it was not modelled on the basis of the *Lex Iulia de collegiis*. In other respects, *collegia* in Egypt continued to draft their rules, to dedicate statues, and to honour individual members. The case of *collegia* in Egypt provides a further piece of evidence for the view that the Romans were not afraid of or suspicious of *collegia*, unless the latter were involved in actions that could challenge the *pax Romana*.

Academy of Athens

Research Centre for the History of Greek Law

Ilias N. ARNAOUTOGLOU

iliasarna@hotmail.com

⁴⁴ See E.G. HUZAR, *Augustus, Heir of the Ptolemies*, in *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988), p. 374, and *id.*, *art. cit.* (n. 42), p. 652. B. ANAGNOSTOU-CANAS, *op. cit.* (n. 17), p. 184, points out that even an indirect danger for the fisc was enough to transfer such cases to be judged by the tribunal of *idiologos*. C. ZIMMERMANN, *Handwerkervereine im griechischen Osten des Imperium Romanum* (Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum. Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Monographien 57), Mainz 2002, p. 20-21, mentions the possible fiscal character of the regulation.

⁴⁵ See A.E.R. BOAK, *art. cit.* (n. 13), p. 214-215; R. TAUBENSCHLAG, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 646-647; P. VAN MINNEN, *Urban Craftsmen in Roman Egypt*, *MBAH* 6 (1987), p. 53; R. ALSTON, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 209-210.

APPENDIX 1

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR ASSOCIATIONS
IN THE LATE FIRST CENTURY BC

- 1) *SB* V 8795 [*IGR* I 1095; *IDelta* I 239] — Abukir (mod.) — 29/28 BC — *synag(ogesas?)*, *prostatesas* — Dedication of a statue by Synistor.
- 2) *SB* I 639 with III 6047 — Alexandria? — 25 BC — *synagogos*, *prostatesas* — Dedication of a statue of Herakles and Arpochrates by H—, son of Sotion.
- 3) *IFayum* I 73 [*IGR* I 1116; *OGIS* 655; *SB* V 8895] — Soknopaiou Nesos — 24 BC — *probatoktenotrophoi* — Dedication to god Soknopaios of a *peribolos* by (an association? of) *probatoktenotrophoi*, their women and children.
- 4) *SB* I 983 [*IGR* I 1114; Breccia, *Iscr.* 45] — Memphis — 17 BC — *tois nemousi ten syno[don]*, *prostatesas* — Dedication of a statue of Herakleides by Phileros.
- 5) *IGPhilae* II 139 [*IGR* I 1303; *SB* V 8676] — Phila — 13 BC — *synodos Eisi-ake* — Dedication of a statue of Isis to the *synodos* by Ioulios —marchos.
- 6) Kayser, *RIGLA* 90 [*SB* IV 7327] — Alexandria — 10/9 BC — *prostates*, *synodos*, *archiereus* — Dedication by a certain Dinias, in honour of the *archiereus*.
- 7) *BGU* IV 1137 [*WChr* 112; *BL* VII, p. 19; *BL* X, p. 19-20] — Alexandria — 6 BC — *synodos Sebaste tou theou. Autokratoros Kaisaros*, *syna[gogos]*, *prostates*, *hiereus*, *gymnasiarchos* — Decision of an imperial cult association to lend money to a member.
- 8) *SB* V 8267 [*IProse* 49; *IDelta* I, 899-913; *BE* 1939, no. 543; 2001, no. 532; A. Wilhelm, *Aigyptiaka* I (*SAWW*, 224.1), Wien 1946, p. 33] — Psenemphaia — 5 BC — *geouchoi*, *hiereus kai prostates*, *archiereus*, *synodos sungeorgon* — Honorary decree for Apollonios, son of Theon, for his generosity in paying for the refurbishment of the association's *oikos*.
- 9) *SB* XXII 15460 — Alexandria — 5 BC — *synodos Sebaste Kaisaros*, *synagogos*, *prostates* — Honorary decree of an imperial cult association, possibly the same as (7).

APPENDIX 2

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR ASSOCIATIONS DURING
THE FIRST CENTURY AD⁴⁶

- 1) Kayser, *RIGLA* 91 [*AfP* 2 (1903), p. 430 no. 5; *IGR* I 1077; Breccia, *Iscr.* 47; *SB* I 5959 (= V 8787); *BE* 1953, no. 234; Poland B455C] — Alexandria —

⁴⁶ The list in *P. Mich.* 248 (beginning of the first century AD) may be a list of members of a guild. I am not sure whether the expression *prostates theou* [*AfP* 2 (1903), p. 430 no. 7 (Thebes, AD 10), a dedication by a certain Achilleas] or *prostates Isidos* [BERNAND, *Portes* 58 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 432 no. 16; *IGR* I 1172; *SB* V 8812] (Koptos – AD 32); BERNAND, *Portes* 59 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 432 no. 17; *IGR* I 1173; *SB* V 8813] (Koptos, AD 14-37); BERNAND, *Portes* 60 [*SB* I 4955] (Koptos, AD 14-37); BERNAND, *Portes* 61

- AD 4/5 — *archisynagogos*, *archiprostates* — Honorary decree for Brasidas, son of Herakleides.
- 2) *IGPhilae* II 157 [*IGR* I 1308; *SB* I 4094] — Phila — AD 8 — [*thi*]*a[si]tai* — Heavily restored *proskynema* inscription.
 - 3) Kayser, *RIGLA* 46 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 431 no. 10; *IGR* I 1051; Breccia, *Iscr.* 51; *SB* V 8775; *ZPE* 126 (1998), p. 186-188; P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, II, p. 431 n. 704; *BE* 2000, no. 692; Poland B458B] — Alexandria — AD 20/21 — *synodos* [—]*kei, prostatesas* — Dedication of a statue of Sarapis by Dionysios, son of Dorion.
 - 4) *SB* V 8791 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 432 no. 14; *IGR* I 1085; Waltzing III 90; Poland Z90] — Alexandria — AD 23/24 — *synodos georgon* — Dedication by Pankrates, son of Panesneus to *synodos*.
 - 5) *SB* V 8838 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 431 no. 12; *IGR* I 1322; Poland B474] — Alexandria — AD 24 — *synodos* — Dedication of a statue of Apollo by Demetrios.
 - 6) Kayser, *RIGLA* 61 [*AfP* 2 (1902), p. 432 no. 13; *IGR* I 1084; *SB* V 8790; Poland B453A] — Alexandria — AD 25 — *Thermouthiake synodos* — Dedication by Sephairos to *synodos*.
 - 7) Bernand, *IGAP* 46 [*AfP* 1 (1901), p. 209 no. 27; Waltzing III 91; Breccia, *Iscr.* 131; Fraser, *op. cit.*, II, p. 122 n. 58; Poland Z91] — Alexandria? — AD 27/28 — *synodos sungeouchon* — Dedication of Ptolemaios, son of Alexandros, Aiakideus.
 - 8) *SB* V 8841 [*IGR* I 1328; Poland B474A] — Alexandria? — AD 31 — *synodos neoteron* — Dedication by a certain Dionysios, *archon kai philagathos*.
 - 9) *P. Mich.* V 243 [*BL* IX, p. 160] — Tebtynis — AD 14-37 — *prostates, koinon, syllogos* — Ordinance of a guild.
 - 10) *SEG* XXIV 1233 [*SB* X 10714; *BE* 1968, no. 575] — Mareotis? — 8 BC or AD 36 — *synagogos kai prostates synodou, koinon* — Dedication of a statue of Nemesis by Orontes, son of Epichares.
 - 11) *SB* I 978 [*IGR* I 1086; Breccia, *Iscr.* 53; Poland B455A] — Alexandria? — AD 39/40 or 40/41 — *prostatou synodou* - Beginning of a document dated *epi Kollouthou*.
 - 12) *P. Mich.* II 121 r 4, 6 — Tebtynis — AD 42 — *igoumenos, gr(ammateus) gerdi(on), synodos, prostates* — Unilateral *omologia* for the payment of an amount for the provision of beer by the head of the *synodos*.
 - 13) *SB* I 996 [*IGR* I 1155; Waltzing III 92; Breccia, *Iscr.* 54; *BL* VIII, p. 304; Poland Z107] — Ptolemais? — AD 45 — *tektones presbuteroi* — Decoration of a *topos*.
 - 14) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 6, 16 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *anaphorion bapheon* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
 - 15) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 6, 17 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *anaphorion gnepheon* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.

(Koptos, AD 41-54), all four dedications of Parthenios, son of Paminis, in favour of the emperor and *prostates Herakleou* in a receipt [*O. Petr.* 190 – (Thebes? 1st century AD)] implies the existence of a *synodos*; the expression *prostates synodou* explicitly refers to a group. More examples of *prostates theou* in WILCKEN, *Ostraka* II, nos. 412ff.

- 16) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 6, 18 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *nomos synodou Psos-neutos eleourgou* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
- 17) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 9, 45 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *nomos synodou Kroni-* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
- 18) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 10, 6 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *nomos synodou Kro-nionos Kameous* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
- 19) *P. Mich.* II 123 r 11, 36 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *nomos synodou Hera-kleou Pichios* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
- 20) *P. Mich.* II 127 — Tebtynis — AD 45/46 — *synodos Arpochratou* — Entry in an account of expenses.
- 21) *PSI VIII* 901 — Tebtynis — AD 46 — *grammateus halieon* — Oath.
- 22) *P. Mich.* II 124 r 2, 23 — Tebtynis — AD 46-49 — *nomos synodou theou* — Entry in the accounts of a *grapheion*.
- 23) *P. Mich.* V 245 [BL VIII, p. 213] — Tebtynis — AD 47 — *epimeletes, koinon, halopolai* — Ordinance of a guild.
- 24) *SEG XLI* 1638 — Tebtynis — AD 54-62? — *prostates synodou Dorophorou* — Building inscription of a *deipneterion*.
- 25) *O. Bodl.* II 1858 — Thebes? — AD 66/67 — *synodos* — List of names.
- 26) *P. Oxy.* XLIV 3164 — Oxyrhynchos — AD 75 — *thiasos, hiera kleine* — Sac-rifices in honour of the emperor.
- 27) *P. Lond.* I 131 col. 14, 320 [Poland Z105] — Hermoupolis — AD 78/79 — *archonelates* — Reference to an association? in the accounts of a farm.
- 28) *BGU VII* 1615 — Philadelphia — AD 84 — *igoumenos, gerdioi* — List of members.
- 29) *P. Strasb.* V 341 [BL VII, p. 248] — Soknopaïou Nesos — AD 85 — *syno-dos hiereon Soknopaïou Theou* — Contract of employment of musicians.
- 30) *P. Grenf.* II 43 — Soknopaïou Nesos — AD 92 — *igoumenos gerdion* — Copy of a certificate of payment.
- 31) Kayser, *RIGLA* 70 [AJP 2 (1902), p. 561 no. 98; Breccia, *Iscr.* 170; *SB III* 6211] — Alexandria — 1B/1A — [Apoll?] *ioniake [synodos?], archiïereia, [pros]tatis* — Dedication.
- 32) Kayser, *RIGLA* 93 [*SB V* 8548; Fraser, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82 no. 186] — Alexan-dria — 1B/1A — *tois menousin en tei synodoi, prostatesas* — Dedication of a statue by a certain Leukios to a *synodos*.
- 33) Kayser, *RIGLA* 94 [*SB I* 591] — Alexandria — 1B/1A — [prost] *atesas* — Dedication of a statue by a certain Ptolemaios.
- 34) Kayser, *RIGLA* 96 [*SEG XLII* 1549] — Alexandria — 1B/1A — *prosta-[tes]as, syn[odos]* — Dedication of a certain Ammonios, perfume-seller.
- 35) *SB I* 12 [*JGR I* 1106; *BL X*, p. 172; Poland B459] — Naukratis — 1B/1A — *Sambathike synodos, synagogos* — Dedication of a certain Ammonios.
- 36) *P. Mich.* V 247 — Tebtynis — first half of 1st century AD — *igoumenos* — List of members.
- 37) *P. Mich.* V 248 — Tebtynis — first half of 1st century AD —? — List of members.
- 38) *P. Tebt.* II 401, col. 7, 35 [*ZPE* 89 (1991), p. 46] — Tebtynis — first half of 1st century AD — *syno(dos)* — Entry in the accounts of a beer-seller.
- 39) *P. Mich.* V 246 [BL VIII, p. 213] — Tebtynis — middle of 1st century AD — *synodos Arpochratou* — Contributions to the group.

- 40) *IFayum* III 171 [*SB* V 8133; *SEG* VIII 544] — Narmouthis — 1st century AD? — *synodos* — Dedication to Anoubis.
- 41) *IFayum* III 172 [*SB* V 8135; *SEG* VIII 545] — Narmouthis — 1st century AD? — *synodos* — Dedication to Apollon.
- 42) Kayser, *RIGLA* 65 [Breccia, *Iscr.* 132; *SB* I 312; Fraser, *op. cit.*, II, p. 413 n. 573 no. 4; *SEG* XLII 1548; *ZPE* 126 (1998), p. 186-188; *BE* 2000, no. 692; Poland B458A] — Alexandria — 1st century AD — *Apolloniake synodos* — Dedication of a statue of Anoubis by a certain Pasion.
- 43) Kayser, *RIGLA* 92 [*SB* IV 7307] — Alexandria — 1st century AD — *pr(ostatesas?)*, *synagoge* — Dedication of a statue by Artemon, son of Nikon, in favour of a *synagoge*.
- 44) *P. Osl.* III 143 — Oxyrhynchos — 1st century AD — *sunodos Damarionos* — Entry in an account of expenditures.
- 45) *P. Bodl.* I 65 — Unknown provenance — 1st century AD? — *synoditai*, *prostatai ton symbioseon* — List of members of various guilds.
- 46) *SEG* XLIII 1135 [*SB* V 5991] — Luxor (mod.) — 1/2 century AD — *synodos Pkallasireos, archiereus* — Reference to an association on a lamp.

APOLLO AND THE EMPERORS (II)

THE EVOLUTION OF THE IMPERIAL CULT AT SAGALASSOS*

Abstract: Part II of this contribution on the imperial cult at Sagalassos deals with the establishment of emperor worship in the Pisidian city and its evolution in time. At first glance, the imperial cult seems to have been a late phenomenon in local religious life, the first high priest of the emperors only appearing under the Flavian dynasty. Such a course of events is contradicted not only by the prominent position of Sagalassos within Pisidia — where early imperial sanctuaries were already established in neighbouring cities — but also by the numerous monuments for Julio-Claudian rulers in the city. The paper therefore contends that there was already some kind of veneration of the new overlords using the local cult of Apollo, and that this veneration gradually developed into an independent imperial cult. Once firmly established, the frequency and intensity of the imperial cult in the wider area of Sagalassos appears to have been closely linked to the imperial agenda. Through solar henotheism, the emperor became the representative of the supreme god on earth, which eventually allowed the veneration of the imperial image to continue into the Christian era.

As the material evidence presented in Part I demonstrated, emperor worship was an institution of great importance to the provincial communities, and one that had a central role to play in the development of the cities. It will now be elucidated how this came about in Sagalassos, and how it evolved through time.

1. THE EARLY IMPERIAL INTEGRATION

The diffusion of the cult of Augustus and other members of his family in Asia Minor and throughout the Greek East from the beginning of the Principate or the start of direct Roman rule is often held to have been very rapid,

* The present paper is the continuation of last year's contribution *Apollo and the Emperors (I)*; *The Material Evidence for the Imperial Cult at Sagalassos*, *AncSoc* 34 (2004), p. 171-216, where the abbreviations used are listed on p. 216. References to Part I are given as 'supra I, p. and/or n. ...'.

Peter Talloen is a postdoctoral fellow of the Fund of Scientific Research Flanders; Marc Waelkens is L. Baert-Hofman professor of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology.

indeed almost instantaneous¹. Yet, unlike other Pisidian cities² — in particular those housing Roman settlers³ — no evidence for early imperial worship has thus far been discerned at Sagalassos, nor should we expect to find this as its first priest of the imperial cult only dates to the Flavian dynasty (cf. *supra* I, p. 207-208). This would seem to imply that, for the whole of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, there was no official imperial veneration at Sagalassos.

Considering the leading status of Sagalassos within the region and the presence of the imperial cult in its immediate vicinity, as well as the numerous monuments erected for members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty in the city and the divine title given to Nero, it seems highly unlikely that the city would not have responded to the presence of a new ruler and resisted the widespread phenomenon of imperial veneration for almost a century before initiating a cult, especially when the loyalty to the new order is illustrated by the *demos* honouring Marcus Lollius, the ‘conqueror’ and first governor of Galatia (25-22 BC), as its *patronus*⁴.

We will therefore try to establish how the foundation of the imperial cult at Sagalassos came about by examining closely the link between the

¹ The foundation of provincial centres of emperor worship in Asia and Bithynia as early as 29 BC acted, according to Cassius Dio, as a model for other provinces to follow all over the Empire, and it also prompted the spread of civic or locally organised cults (Dio LI 20.5-7; see also S. PRICE, *Rituals and Power: the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1984, p. 80, and S. MITCHELL, *Anatolia, Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor*, I. *The Celts and the Impact of Roman Rule*, Oxford 1993, p. 100-102).

² In 5-4 BC, the people of the Milyas who were tribal kinsfolk of the Pisidians, in concert with the Romans who did business among them, and the Thracian inhabitants of the region, erected a large altar to the goddess Roma and the divine Augustus at a site on the territory of the ancient city of Kormasa on the east bank of the river Lysis in Western Pisidia, close to the line of the *Via Sebaste* and just south of the territory of Sagalassos (see A.S. HALL, *R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies no. 9. The Milyadeis and their Territory*, AS 36, 1986, p. 137 no. 1). The foundation of this sanctuary can most probably be related to the construction of the *Via Sebaste*, which opened up the region. Furthermore, the city of Apollonia founded an imperial sanctuary sometime between AD 14 and 19 where a Greek copy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* was inscribed (see MAMA IV 143), and at Termessos a cult of Augustus was practised by the second half of the 1st century AD (*supra* I, p. 210 n. 151).

³ On the role of Roman settlers in the establishment of the imperial cult in Pisidia see P. TALLOEN, *Cult in Pisidia. Religious Practice in Southwestern Asia Minor from the Hellenistic to the Early Byzantine Period. A Study based on the Archaeological Research at Sagalassos* (*Studies in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology*, 9), Turnhout (forthcoming); *id.*, *One Question, Several Answers. The Introduction of the Imperial Cult in Pisidia* (see n. 29 below).

⁴ H. DEVIJVER, *Local Elite, Equestrians and Senators: A Social History of Roman Sagalassos*, *AncSoc* 27 (1996), p. 106.

emperors and Apollo which is apparent in several of the aforementioned witnesses to the cult.

1.1. *Apollo at Sagalassos*

An overview of material manifestations of the cult of Apollo illustrates the prominent position of this deity in Pisidia, and at Sagalassos in particular. The city established a temple and games in his honour⁵ — both imposing in their field — founded a priesthood to serve his cult and issued civic coins with the effigy of Apollo, ranging from the late Hellenistic period to the reign of Claudius II Gothicus⁶. All this identifies the god as one of the main deities at Sagalassos⁷.

Although Apollo was previously thought to have arrived in Sagalassos as a purely Greek god during the Hellenistic era together with the Seleucid settlers⁸, there are several indications that he has his roots in the area.

Firstly, he was often the object of worship in extra-urban sanctuaries founded in the indigenous tradition: there are the extra-urban rock-cut reliefs of Apollo Sideton at Pednelissos and most probably also at Melli (Milyas?), the rock-sanctuary of Apollo at Çandır in the territory of Adada, and finally the rock-sanctuary of the rider-god Apollo *Perminoudeon* in the territory of Komama, which all clearly point to an indigenous origin⁹. Moreover, this strong rural aspect of Apollo is also recorded

⁵ See supra I, p. 175-177 and 201-205.

⁶ There are issues of civic coins depicting Apollo during the Late Hellenistic period (*BMC* no. 2), the early imperial (most probably Augustan) times (*IW* no. 3813), the reigns of Nerva (*KM* no. 8), Hadrian (*SNG* Paris no. 1767), Marcus Aurelius (*SNG* Copenhagen no. 203), Caracalla (*SNG* Paris no. 1791), Diadumenianus (*BMC* no. 27), Elagabal (*SNG* von Aulock no. 8625), Severus Alexander (*SNG* von Aulock no. 5182), and Claudius II Gothicus (*SNG* Copenhagen no. 219 and *SNG* Paris no. 1865).

⁷ See also M. WÆLKENS, *Sagalassos. Religious Life in a Pisidian Town during the Hellenistic and Early Imperial Period*, in C. BONNET – A. MOTTE (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque International en l'honneur de Franz Cumont à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort, Rome, 25-27 septembre 1997* (Institut Historique Belge de Rome. *Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes*, 36), Bruxelles-Rome 1999, p. 206-207.

⁸ M. WÆLKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 209.

⁹ For Pednelissos see G. ISIN, *The Ruins at Kozan-Bodrumkaya: Pednelissos, Adalya* 3 (1998), p. 117-118; for Melli see L. VANDEPUT – V. KÖSE – S. AYDAL – R. ERB, *Pisidia Survey Project: Melli 1999*, in 18. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 22-26 Mayıs 2000, İzmir, Ankara 2001, p. 261-262; for Adada see J.R.R. STERRETT, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (*Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens*, 3), Boston 1888, p. 315-317; for Perminous see G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia: including Texts from Kremna, Ariassos, Keraia, Hyia, Panemoteichos, the*

for the territory of Sagalassos where the god is manifestly present, with possible sanctuaries near the villages of Bayındır, Büğdüz, Günelan and Haniçi, as seems to be suggested by the concentration of votive dedications in the form of altars at those locations¹⁰. Finally, his local character is also confirmed by various epithets in votive inscriptions accompanying his depictions on horseback and identifying them as local variants of the deity¹¹.

All this indicates that the deity was indigenous to the area, albeit under another name, most probably as the solar deity Sozon¹². Such an identification is based on the similarity and nature of the deities: both are solar deities with a radiate appearance who are frequently depicted on horseback¹³. This assimilation has recently been confirmed by illegal excavations at the site of the rock-cut sanctuary of Apollo at Perminous which revealed objects dedicated to Sozon¹⁴, attesting that the deities were venerated together at the sanctuary.

Although the Seleucids may not have been responsible for the actual introduction of Apollo to the area, they might well have been responsible for the assimilation of the Greek deity with this local solar god. The epithet Klarios is certainly not indigenous nor is it attested at Sagalassos before the early imperial period. Therefore, it might well have been the result of imperial propagation of the cult of that deity and the promotion

Sanctuary of Apollo of the Perminoundeis, Sia, Kocaaliler and the Döşeme Boğazı (Inscriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 57), Bonn 2000, p. 103-110.

¹⁰ M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 207-208; M. WAELEKENS *et al.*, *The 1996 and 1997 Surveys in the Territory of Sagalassos*, in M. WAELEKENS – L. LOOTS (eds.), *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997* (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia. Monographiae, 10), Leuven 2000, p. 73 and 83.

¹¹ In general see I. DELEMEN, *Anatolian Rider-Gods. A Study on Stone Finds from the Regions of Lycia, Pisidia, Isauria, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia and Caria in the Late Roman Period* (Asia Minor Studien, 35), Bonn 1999, p. 2; for Pisidia: Apollo Perminoundeion at Perminous (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 103 sqq.) and Apollo Elaibarios at Isinda (D.H. FRENCH, *Isinda and Lagbe*, in D.H. FRENCH [ed.], *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia. In Memoriam A.S. Hall* [British Institute of Archaeology. Monograph, 19], Ankara 1994, p. 66 no. 13; S. ŞAHİN, *Die Inscriften von Perge* [Inscriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 54], Bonn 1999, p. 196 no. 178, however, contends that the latter belonged to the territory of Perge).

¹² For a general introduction on Sozon see I. DELEMEN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 39-41.

¹³ In Phrygia, Apollo was also identified with Sozon: in reliefs he is depicted on horseback carrying a double-axe (see T. DREW-BEAR – C. NAOUR, *art. Divinités de Phrygie*, in ANRW II 18.3, Berlin–New York 1990, p. 1933 no. 78).

¹⁴ G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 107-108. Dedications to Sozon have also elsewhere been found in sanctuaries that were known to be dedicated to Apollo (*ibid.*, p. 108).

of his sanctuary near Kolophon (cf. *infra*), although it has been suggested that the epithet does not necessarily suggest a link with the famous oracle but may refer to the agonistic Klareian games¹⁵. On the other hand, the coin-type of Apollo seated on a throne and leaning with his left arm on a lyre, while holding a laurel branch in his right hand, corresponds with the cult-statue of the god at Klaros¹⁶. In addition, Sagalassos is known to have been among the clients of the oracle in the imperial period¹⁷, which further corroborates a link with the Ionian sanctuary.

1.2. *Apollo and the emperors*

Besides his importance at Sagalassos, Apollo was the tutelary deity of the new overlord Augustus¹⁸. There was a strong link between the founder of the empire and the god, going back to his first days on the public stage¹⁹. Augustus had made Apollo, who was his divine protector at the battles of Philippi (42 BC), Naucholos (36 BC) and Actium (31 BC), also the centre of his religious policy and accorded him the first place in the Roman pantheon²⁰. Moreover, he assimilated himself with Apollo and wanted to pass for an incarnation of the god²¹. This relation culminated in the inauguration in 28 BC of a temple dedicated to Apollo on the Palatine, which was directly connected to his house there²².

¹⁵ M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 7), p. 207.

¹⁶ For a description of the cult-statue see R. LANE FOX, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth 1986, p. 172.

¹⁷ For the clientele of Klaros see R. LANE FOX, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 174. The city of Isinda, which also organized Klareian games, claimed Ionian origin on its bronze coins (D.H. FRENCH, *art. cit.* [n. 11], p. 59). Although such a claim does not necessarily reflect a reality, but rather the sources of inspiration from which Pisidia adopted and adapted the forms of Hellenism, it does demonstrate the existence of an association between Isinda and Ionia, making Klaros one of the more obvious sources.

¹⁸ Generally, on the relation of Augustus and the cult of Apollo see K. GALINSKY, *Augustan Culture. An Interpretive Introduction*, Princeton 1996, p. 213-224.

¹⁹ P. LAMBRECHTS, *La politique 'apollonienne' d'Auguste et le culte impérial*, *La Nouvelle Clío* 5 (1953), p. 70.

²⁰ P. LAMBRECHTS, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 65 and 72; P. ZANKER, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, p. 57-61.

²¹ P. LAMBRECHTS, *art. cit.* (n. 19), p. 66. Similarly, Marc Antony wanted to be identified with Dionysos (see P. ZANKER, *op. cit.* [n. 20], p. 54-55). Once Augustus reinstated the 'Republic' in 27 BC all indications for a real assimilation with his patron deity ceased (see P. LAMBRECHTS, *ibid.*, p. 70-73).

²² Suet., *Aug.* 29.3. In the library of the temple a statue of Augustus *habitu ac statu Apollonis* was erected (see T. PEKARY, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (*Das römische Herrscherbild. Abt. 3.5*), Berlin 1985, p. 102 and n. 10).

The link also manifested itself throughout the empire. In Corinth, a temple for Apollo Augustus was erected and Apollo Eleutherios Sebastos is attested at Alabanda in Caria, while on Delos the sanctuary of Apollo was used to honour the first emperor and his family²³. Whereas before it had only been a sanctuary of local importance, the sanctuary of Apollo Klaros near Kolophon flourished during the reign of Augustus because of the promotion of the deity by the emperor²⁴. The cult image of Kolophon, Apollo Kitharoidos, became the symbol of peace and reconciliation in the aftermath of Actium²⁵. And although none of the later emperors, except for Nero, were so intimately associated with the god, there remained close ties after Augustus between the members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and Apollo, at Klaros and elsewhere²⁶.

1.3. *Apollo and the emperors at Sagalassos*

Once the imperial cult had been introduced by Titus Flavius Neon during the Flavian dynasty, most probably under the reign of Vespasian (cf. supra I, p. 207-208), the emperor was worshipped together with Apollo in one and the same temple, which had probably been rededicated at the time, as a temple-sharing deity or *sunnaos theos*²⁷. Besides a temple, the emperor and the god, in all likelihood, also shared the same festival, namely the Klareia (cf. supra I, p. 201-205). The prominence of Apollo at Sagalassos and his close relationship with Augustus explains why he was selected to be associated with the emperors. A similar process can be discerned at Selge where the imperial cult was originally housed in the city's main sanctuary, that of Zeus Kesbelios. A dedication to the *theoi Sebastoi* and the emperor Claudius or Nero was found among the ruins

²³ Corinth: *CIL* III 534; Alabanda: *CIG* Add. 2903; Delos: T. MAVROJANNIS, *Apollo Delio, Atene e Augusto, Ostraka* 4 (1995), p. 92-94.

²⁴ See H.W. PARKE, *The Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London–Sydney–Dover (NH) 1985, p. 133-136.

²⁵ See P. ZANKER, *op. cit.* (n. 20), p. 61.

²⁶ See H.W. PARKE, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 136-137. Part of the *pronaos* of the temple of Apollo was even arranged to house a cult place dedicated to Tiberius (see S. PRICE, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 150). In Athens, the cult of the emperor Claudius was based in the sanctuary of Apollo Patroös (see A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, *The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities*, in M.C. HOFF – S.I. ROTROFF [eds.], *The Romanization of Athens. Proceedings of an International Conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska [April 1996]*, Oxford 1997, p. 193-194).

²⁷ See also M. WAELEKENS, *Romanization in the East. A Case Study: Sagalassos and Pisidia (SW Turkey)*, *MDAI(I)* 52 (2002), (n. 1), p. 335 and 346.

of the temple²⁸, suggesting that the sanctuary was also rededicated to house the imperial cult, as was the case at Sagalassos.

It was common practice for the emperors to be associated with leading deities of a city in order to introduce the new imperial cult to the city²⁹. Sharing a temple with one of the leading deities of the city, the emperor was the recipient of both cult and respect from the priests and the population.

The fact, however, that the first sanctuary that housed the imperial cult at Sagalassos, the temple of Apollo Klarios, was built during the very reign of Augustus, at the time when the cult made its entrance into Pisidia and resulted in the construction of imperial sanctuaries³⁰, appears to suggest something more than mere coincidence.

As already mentioned above, it seems very unlikely that Sagalassos would have been indifferent to this ongoing introduction of the imperial cult. We therefore contend that there was already some kind of worship, aimed at expressing the loyalty of the city and its inhabitants towards its new masters, and that this worship gradually developed into an independent cult, that is, the imperial cult. For this introduction the important local cult of Apollo was used as a catalyst. Given the reluctance of Augustus to consent to deification, unless it was combined with the cult of Roma³¹, the absence of Roma at Sagalassos and the far-reaching association of Augustus and Apollo, the people at Sagalassos may have opted to worship the emperor through his divine protector, who was at the same time one of their ancestral deities. The construction of the temple of Apollo Klarios may thus be seen as a local response to the establishment of imperial shrines elsewhere in the region, and would then have been

²⁸ J. NOLLÉ – F. SCHINDLER, *Die Inschriften von Selge (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 37)*, Bonn 1991, p. 80 no. 11.

²⁹ At Termessos the emperors were associated with Zeus Solymeus in the *agones Sebasteioi Solumieioi* (TAM III 161 and 164), while at Trolatta near Sardes the *theoi Sebastoi* were again related to Apollo (K. BÜRESCH, *Klaros. Untersuchungen zum Orakelwesen des späteren Alterum*, Leipzig 1889, p. 8-29). In several other Greek cities the goddess Roma was one of many mechanisms of deifying Roman power during the republic, and a predecessor of the actual imperial cult; see e.g. Apollonia where some fusion between the cult of Roma and the worship of Augustus' family had taken place (see MAMA IV 142). This topic was the subject of a paper entitled *One Question, Several Answers. The Introduction of the Imperial Cult in Pisidia*, presented at the colloquium *Neue Zeiten – neue Sitten. Zu Rezeption und Integration römischen und italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien*, held at the Universität Wien, 31 March – 2 April 2005.

³⁰ See n. 2 above.

³¹ Suet., *Aug.* 52.

intended to serve the first form of imperial worship at Sagalassos³². The choice of the Ionian Apollo Klarios may even have been inspired by the close relation between that sanctuary and the emperor, who played a crucial role in the rise of its popularity, and whose cult-statue, which was also depicted on the coins of Sagalassos, represented the peace and reconciliation propagated by the emperor after Actium (cf. *supra*). Moreover, the gentle pace at which the city embraced Roman ruler cult offers a potentially sensitive barometer of local attitudes to imperial rule at the beginning of the principate. The arrival of Roman rule coincided with civil unrest and rebellion — Amyntas' Pisidian war and the war with the neighbouring Homonadeis were followed by the installation of veterans in the region³³. This may also help to explain the shrouded nature of the initial promotion of the cult.

Such a veiled cult may equally explicate why a festival that seems primarily to have been dedicated to the imperial cult (cf. *supra* I, p. 201-205) was named Klareios, and why it was already celebrated before the official introduction of the imperial cult.

This situation appears to have continued under his Augustus' Julio-Claudian successors (cf. *supra*). Although they received numerous honorific monuments throughout the city in which their divine status was clearly recognised, and at this time a major religious festival was founded interlarded with imperial elements, the status of their worship seems unchanged.

It was to be followed by a rededication of the temple to both Apollo and the emperors in the second half of the 1st century AD, once the imperial cult had been introduced by Titus Flavius Neon during the Flavian dynasty, most probably sometime during the reign of Vespasian³⁴. The introduction of the imperial high priesthood in Sagalassos at this time will not have been the result of the incorporation of the city in the province of Lycia-Pamphylia under Vespasian, the reformation of which caused the establishment of the provincial cult at Perge³⁵, because, as argued by Waelkens, Pisidia and Sagalassos were no part of that province at the time, but belonged at least partly to the province of Asia³⁶. As no neocorates were attributed within the province of Asia between the reign of Tiberius and

³² See also M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 335.

³³ See S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 70-79.

³⁴ See M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 346.

³⁵ For the establishment of the provincial cult at Perge see S. ŞAHİN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 42.

³⁶ M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 325-327.

that of Domitian³⁷, it seems unlikely that Sagalassos would have received its first *neokoros* title under Vespasian at the occasion of this reconversion of the temple as suggested by Devijver and Waelkens³⁸.

At that time the veiled worship of the emperor made possible by the close identification of Augustus with Apollo was substituted for a *synnaos* cult with the emperor as temple-sharing deity of Apollo. The reason why the people of Sagalassos turned to explicit veneration during the reign of the Flavians may perhaps be sought in the natural catastrophes that struck the area in the second half of the 1st century AD, and in the imperial aid that followed³⁹, as well as in the fact that a new imperial dynasty had come to power which did not have such obvious ties with Apollo and whose cult was no longer implied in the worship of the Augustus' patron deity. Yet, even when the imperial veneration became established as a separate cult with its own priesthood during the Flavian dynasty, it continued to use the sanctuary of Apollo as its own, as is clear from the rededication of the temple (cf. *supra*). The fact that the cult of Vespasian was also introduced at nearby Pisidian Antioch, when a member of the local elite, Lucius Sergius Paulus was appointed consul⁴⁰, may also have influenced Sagalassos in its decision to institute a proper cult for the emperors.

2. THE SECOND CENTURY 'EMANCIPATION'

Once the worship of the emperors was firmly rooted in the religious life of the city, the next step in its evolution could take place, that is, its establishment as a separate cult in a separate sanctuary. Judging by the construction date of the imperial sanctuary at Sagalassos, this transformation of the religious landscape occurred sometime during the reign of the emperor Hadrian. Also elsewhere in Pisidia the gradual establishment of the imperial cult culminated in the construction of several imperial

³⁷ See S.J. FRIESEN, *Twice Neokoros. Ephesus, Asia and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 116)*, Leiden 1993, p. 28.

³⁸ This is the opinion expressed by H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 126 n. 50; H. DEVIJVER – M. WAELEKENS, *Roman Inscriptions from the Fifth Campaign at Sagalassos*, in M. WAELEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos IV. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1994 and 1995 (Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia Monographiae, 9)*, Leuven 1997, p. 312; and M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 346. The question of Sagalassos' neocorates will further be dealt with below.

³⁹ See M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 344-345

⁴⁰ See W.M. CALDER, *Colonia Caesareia Antiocheia, JRS* 2 (1912), p. 102 no. 34.

temples, as well as several other monuments, and the erection of an unequalled number of statues under his rule⁴¹.

Exclusively imperial religious festivals as established at Apollonia⁴² have thus far not been recorded at Sagalassos, but the elements of the cult of Roman origin, namely the gladiatorial games and animal fights, are attested from this time onwards (cf. supra I, p. 205-207).

The tie with the cult of Apollo, however, was again not completely severed, as the combined festival seems to have persisted, judging by the fact that statues for victors of the Klareian games were still erected within the imperial sanctuary and that high priests of the imperial cult continued to preside over these games⁴³.

What caused this sudden explosion of the imperial cult in the cities of Pisidia? Firstly, there is the general religious climate. In AD 131/132, Hadrian completed the construction and presided over the dedication of the Olympieion at Athens, thereby appropriating to himself a share both in the title and the temple of the god, with whom he became identified⁴⁴. Numerous cities throughout the empire responded by issuing coins — like Sagalassos (cf. supra) — or erecting statues and monuments to that extent⁴⁵. Moreover, there is the related issue of Hadrian's philhellenism and his foundation of the *Panhellenion* in AD 131/132 in an attempt to reinvigorate Greek feeling and love for Greek antiquities⁴⁶. The *Panhellenion* itself had few formal powers, but the status which accrued to a city that obtained membership was considerable, further underlining the connection between civic Hellenism, high status and imperial patronage. The rewards which could be generated by a display of Hellenism were clearly high, and usually expressed as gains in status or patronage for cities and individuals, although this could be accompanied by more tangible benefits, in the form of buildings, *sportulae* and other benefactions. Moreover, those titles and the prominent position of a city within a region

⁴¹ See supra I, p. 179 n. 25 and p. 193 n. 68.

⁴² See *MAMA* IV 152 and 154.

⁴³ The imperial high priest Claudius Philippianus Varus was agonothete during the 2nd century (see K. LANCKORONSKI, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, II. *Pisidien*, Wien 1892, p. 225 no. 195).

⁴⁴ On the religious policy of Hadrian see S. MITCHELL, *Cremna in Pisidia. An Ancient City in Peace and in War*, London 1995, p. 80-84.

⁴⁵ Among them were the Pisidian cities of Termessos with no less than 4 dedications to Hadrian Olympios, and Pogle with one dedication (see supra I, p. 193 n. 68).

⁴⁶ On the *Panhellenion* see A.J. SPAWFORTH – S. WALKER, *The World of the Panhellenion*, I. *Athens and Eleusis*, *JRS* 75 (1985), p. 78-104, and A.J. SPAWFORTH – S. WALKER, *The World of the Panhellenion*, II. *Three Dorian Cities*, *JRS* 76 (1986), p. 88-105.

which they entailed attracted *euergetai*, as well as officials, traders and pilgrims, needing services, food and lodging.

The alluring privileges connected with this organization of Greek cities may therefore well have been a motive in the decision to construct the first imperial temple, certainly when considering the fact that the people of Sagalassos characterised their city as 'panhellenic'⁴⁷.

Imperial presence, on the other hand, equally appears to have been decisive in this turn of events. Such imperial visits to the region have already been contended for the reign of Trajan. The construction of the honorific monument near the stadium, as well as the erection of a statue (cf. *supra*), may have been instigated by Trajan's visit to the region on his way to the eastern frontier in AD 114⁴⁸. Yet, Hadrian's visits to south-western Asia Minor in AD 129 and 131 appear to have been even more important for Pisidia. According to Levick, Hadrian would have visited several cities in the region on his way from Pamphylia to Synnada in Galatia in AD 129⁴⁹, but this has been refuted by evidence. The emperor is known to have resided at Apameia in July of that year from where he travelled east to Cappadocia⁵⁰. He doubtless included the colony of Pisidian Antioch in his itinerary where a monumental gate on the west side of the city was dedicated to the emperor Hadrian and empress Sabina in AD 129⁵¹. As this colony was the *caput viae* of the *Via Sebaste*, it is beyond doubt that the emperor travelled along the western branch of the road system to the city from Apameia. This will have led him through the territory of Pisidian Apollonia, inspiring the erection of monuments to the emperor in the latter city, but also in neighbouring cities along this route, prior to

⁴⁷ An unpublished inscription from the Upper Agora recorded by M. Waelkens characterizes the city as *πανελληνικε*.

⁴⁸ M. WAELKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 347. The Traianeion at Adada is believed to have been erected on the same occasion (see M. BÜYÜKKOLANCI, *Adada. Pisidia'da antik bir kent*, Göltaş 1998, p. 38).

⁴⁹ B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, p. 102 and n. 1 for Kremna.

⁵⁰ See H. HALFMANN, *Itinera principum: Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1986, p. 204-206, for the reconstruction of this route.

⁵¹ For the gate see S. MITCHELL – M. WAELKENS, *Pisidian Antioch. The Site and its Monuments*, London 1998, p. 99. This kind of honorific gate seems to be a typical monument erected to celebrate the advent of an emperor; similar gates have been recorded at Perge (S. ŞAHİN, *op. cit.* [n. 11], p. 118-119), Attaleia (*loc. cit.*) and Phaselis (J. SCHÄFER, *Phaselis. Beiträge zur Topographie und Geschichte der Stadt und ihrer Häfen* [Istanbuler Mitteilungen. Beihefte 24], Istanbul 1981, p. 88-89), which were stops on the emperor's journey of AD 131 (see below).

and in the aftermath of his visit. This could account for the monuments at Lysinia and Tymbria mentioned earlier⁵², where he was not honoured as Olympios and thus concurring chronologically with the first visit. Some of the roadworks in the territory of Apollonia commemorated by milestones dedicated to him may have preceded his sojourn⁵³. The stele erected at Parlais and possibly commemorating the attribution of the title Hadriana to the colony, which bordered on Apollonia and Antioch, may equally have been the result of the emperor's visit⁵⁴; the same is undoubtedly true for the foundation of Hadrianopolis, south of Lake Burdur. The monuments to Hadrian at Sagalassos and Kremna⁵⁵ may equally have been erected or planned on this occasion, especially as several of them predate the adoption of the title Olympios.

Hadrian is also known to have visited the coastal cities of Perge, Attaleia and Phaselis on his return from Alexandria to Athens in AD 131-132⁵⁶, but whether he actually visited the cities in the interior at that time is uncertain. A number of monuments dedicated to the emperor in the adjacent part of Pisidia has again led some scholars to conclude that they were the result of an imperial visit to those neighbouring cities, which would have occurred in AD 131⁵⁷. The dedications to Hadrian Olympios at Termessos and Pogla would chronologically qualify for such a visit, and the same can be true for the fragmentary inscription to Hadrian at Selge (cf. supra I, p. 193 n. 68). Other cities of southern Pisidia, like Pednelissos, contented themselves with the erection of a statue to the emperor Hadrian Olympios at Perge⁵⁸. It may very well have been at this time that Sagalassos issued the aforementioned coin types honouring Hadrian as Olympios (cf. supra I, p. 197).

If those dedications were indeed related to Hadrian's travels, the visits could explain the high visibility of this emperor received in the area, and perhaps also the start of imperial coinage for a number of cities during

⁵² See supra I, p. 193 n. 68.

⁵³ See IGR III 324 (boundary stone at Çapalı); D.H. FRENCH, *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*, II. *An Interim Catalogue of Milestones* (*British Archaeological Reports. International Series*, 392.2), Oxford 1988, p. 148 no. 389 (milestone at Büyük Kabaca) and 150 no. 393 (milestone at Gencali).

⁵⁴ See B. LEVICK, art. *Parlais*, in *RE Suppl.* XII (1970), col. 990-1006, and H. BRANDT, *Parlais: eine römische Kolonie in Pisidien*, *EA* 24 (1995), p. 58.

⁵⁵ See supra I, p. 179 n. 25.

⁵⁶ See H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 204-205, 208. On the imperial visit to Perge also see S. ŞAHİN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 145-147.

⁵⁷ B. LEVICK, art. *Pogla*, in *RE Suppl.* XIV (1974), col. 424, for Pogla.

⁵⁸ S. ŞAHİN, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 147 no. 111.

his reign⁵⁹. Or else, the cities of Pisidia may have erected their monuments in expectation of such a visit.

It has already been noted that the large scale of the imperial sanctuary dedicated to the divine Hadrian and his successor argues in favor of it being the first *neokoros*-temple of the city⁶⁰. Although not propagated on any of the contemporary sources, this would find further corroboration in the fact that the title 'first city of Pisidia' appears for the first time in the building inscription of the temple. Although Pisidia at this time was largely part of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia⁶¹, there are several indications that at least part of the region was considered a separate administrative zone. Provinces were often divided up into a series of *conventus* or *koina*⁶². A *koinon* was an association or federation of cities designed to serve as a bridge between individual cities and the imperial authorities⁶³. Although elected officials at the head of such a Pisidian league, like the Pamphyliarch and Lykiarch for the neighbouring regions are lacking so far, its existence seems to be implied by the listing of districts under

⁵⁹ Imperial coinage was started under Hadrian at Baris, Konana, Kremna, Seleukeia, Selge, Tymbria and Tityassos; see F. REBUFFAT, *La prolifération des ateliers monétaires en Pisidie sous le Haut-Empire*, CCG 3 (1992), p. 141-155.

⁶⁰ We already argued above that an attribution of the first neocorate during the Flavian dynasty as previously suggested by Waelkens is unlikely. Moreover, many major cities, like Ancyra, Neocaesarea, Tarsus and Side, only received a second neocorate temple during the late 2nd or 3rd century AD: Tarsus received its second neocorate from Commodus (W. WEISER, *Philippus iunior als Ehrenburgermeister von Sagalassos und Prostanna*, SNR 64, 1985, p. 94) and Neocaesarea got its second from Severus Alexander (S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 114), while cities like Ancyra and Side only received their second neocorates from Valerianus and Gallienus (for Ancyra see E. WINTER, *Staatliche Baupolitik und Baufürsorge in den römischen Provinzen des kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien* [Asia Minor Studien, 20], Bonn 1996, p. 172 n. 1557; for Side see J. NOLLÉ, *Side im Altertum. Geschichte und Zeugnisse*, I. *Geographie-Geschichte-Testimonia. Griechische und lateinische Inschriften* [Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 43], Bonn 1993, p. 123). This makes it unlikely that a provincial city like Sagalassos would have obtained both neocorates referred to in the inscription dating to the reign of Diocletian (see supra I, p. 172 n. 6) and allegedly represented by the temple of Apollo and the temple of Antoninus Pius (see M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* [n. 27], p. 346), by the middle of the 2nd century AD.

⁶¹ See S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 1) and M. WAELEKENS, *art. cit.* (n. 27), p. 327.

⁶² Several regional league organisations could exist within a given province. For the numerous leagues within the province of Achaia see S.E. ALCOCK, *Graecia capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, p. 153. On the assumption of a *koinon* for each geographical region see M. SARTRE, *L'Orient romain. Provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères (31 avant J.C. – 235 après J.C.)*, Paris 1991, p. 263.

⁶³ On *koina* see M. SARTRE, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 262-263, and S.E. ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 165.

the authority of the governor of Galatia during the 1st century AD, which included Pisidia, and by the titles of Sagalassos featuring in numerous official inscriptions and on coins in the 2nd and 3rd century AD proclaiming it as «the first city of Pisidia», thus identifying the region as an administrative unit⁶⁴. These *koina* were assize districts, each with a city centre where the governor would hold court days and listen to petitions. Of special importance here is that fact that the *koinon* also held annual meetings at its centre for the worship of the divine emperors⁶⁵. The principal official of that cult will have been known as the chief priest of the region, and was chosen annually at the meeting of the assembly for a one-year term⁶⁶. It is therefore probably within the context of such a regional assembly that the *neokoros*-titles of Sagalassos, propagated on its milestones (cf. supra I, p. 172), have to be seen.

Judging by the number of dedications to Antoninus Pius throughout the region, this emperor appears to have been equally well regarded by his Pisidian subjects⁶⁷. Some of these sources, referring to the emperor as σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, may hint at the reason of Pius' popularity in the region. The monuments may well have been a response to the support he provided early in his reign for the restoration of civic buildings and

⁶⁴ For Pisidia as part of Galatia see M. SARTRE, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Anatolie d'Alexandre à Dioclétien (IVe siècle av. J.-C./IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Paris 1995, p. 173-175. Besides the dedicatory inscriptions of the temple for *divus* Hadrianus and Antoninus Pius and the *macellum*, the title «first city of Pisidia» also features on the bases for the emperors Commodus (cf. supra I, p. 194 n. 72) and Septimius Severus (cf. supra I, p. 194 n. 73); for its presence on civic coins see e.g. issues under Valerianus: BMC no. 40, SNG Paris no. 1832; under Salonina: IW no. 3881, SNG Paris no. 1847.

⁶⁵ Provinces composed of several *koina* had several provincial centres of the imperial cult (M. SARTRE, *op. cit.* [n. 62], p. 111).

⁶⁶ See M. SARTRE, *op. cit.* (n. 62), p. 114-115.

⁶⁷ Both at Kremna and Melli, a small temple was dedicated to Antoninus Pius, respectively at the end of the street connecting agora and forum (S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 44], p. 91-96; G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 41 no. 11), and at the city gate (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *ibid.*, p. 153 no. 148). A statue base found on the agora of the latter city (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *ibid.*, p. 154 no. 149) and a base recorded at the ancient site of Çaykenarı (SEG VI 617) characterize him as σωτήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης. Elsewhere, effigies of the emperor were set up at the colony of Komama (B. LEVICK, *Two Pisidian Colonial Families*, JRS 48, 1958, p. 74), at Kodrula (SEG XLIII 1107) and by the local authorities at Tymandos in the territory of Apollonia, the latter as benefactor of the universe (MAMA IV 235). In the territory of Amblada, he received a dedicatory milestone (A.S. HALL, *Notes and Inscriptions from Eastern Pisidia*, AS 18, 1968, p. 84 no. 42). Finally, at Termessos, where he was allegedly involved in the reconstruction of the Artemis temple (see below), there are several dedications to Antoninus Pius, one of which involves an unidentified building (TAM III 11-12, 23).

amenities after a major earthquake around AD 141 caused widespread damage throughout southwestern Asia Minor⁶⁸. Its epicentre appears to have been in Lycia but the adjacent areas of Pisidia will undoubtedly also have suffered from this catastrophe. This is corroborated by the fact that the restoration cost of the Zeus-temple at Termessos was underwritten by an imperial subvention, most probably authorized by Antoninus⁶⁹. The «benefactions towards the city» for which Pius was honoured at Komama probably refer to the same event. Moreover, the involvement of governor Voconius Saxa in the establishment of the honorific monument in the colony, something that was generally not required, may hint at the key role he played in organizing assistance for the stricken cities of Lycia and Pamphylia⁷⁰. Whether this alleged imperial aid also played a role in the eventual consecration of the imperial sanctuary at Sagalassos can not be determined.

Imperial worship reached another peak during the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The emperor who received a statue as *Caesar* during the reign of his adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, put up within the imperial sanctuary, was also honoured as emperor at Sagalassos, together with his co-regent Lucius Verus. The Roman baths were inaugurated in the spring of AD 165, during the joint reign of the emperors to whom the complex was dedicated by the city of Sagalassos⁷¹. In the same year, a votive milestone

⁶⁸ S. MITCHELL, *Greek Epigraphy and Social Change. A Study of the Romanization of South-West Asia Minor in the Third Century A.D.*, in *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997*, Rome 1999, p. 423; G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 42; Corsten, Drew-Bear and Özsaıt, on the other hand, place the devastating event in AD 139 (T. CORSTEN – T. DREW-BEAR – M. ÖZSAIT, *Forschungen in der Kibyrtis*, EA 30, 1998, p. 48).

⁶⁹ B. İPLİKÇİOĞLU, *Epigraphische Forschungen in Termessos und seinem Territorium*, I (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 575), Wien 1991, p. 10 no. 2.

⁷⁰ See S. MITCHELL, *Three Cities in Pisidia*, AS 44 (1994), p. 146 and n. 53.

⁷¹ At Termessos, the construction of an aqueduct was dedicated to the divine emperors and to the *demos* (TAM III 16). Both emperors were given statues at Verbe between AD 165 and 169 (A.M. WOODWARD – H.A. ORMEROD, *A Journey in South-Western Asia Minor*, BSA 16, 1909-1910, p. 119 nos. 13-14). Verus was honoured with a statue at the imperial sanctuary of Kormasa by the neighbouring city of Hadrianoi (G.E. BEAN, *Notes and Inscriptions from Pisidia*, I, AS 9, 1959, p. 110 no. 80), while Marcus Aurelius was given a statue at Lysinia (G.E. BEAN, *ibid.*, p. 79 no. 23). After the death of Lucius Verus in AD 169, Kremna saw the consecration of another temple for the imperial cult north of the Doric agora, dedicated to *divus* Verus, Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 43 no. 12), while at Ariassos a statue for the god Verus was erected, possibly in a *Sebasteion* (see G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *ibid.*, p. 114 who think the base to be part of a larger monument housing statues of emperors, comparable

was erected to both emperors at Yazıköy in the *chora* of the city, undoubtedly where the *Via Sebaste* entered Sagalassian territory⁷². These monuments may have been prompted by one of the imperial victories over the Parthians in between AD 161 and 165/166. Yet, the dedication of the *macellum* on the occasion of the imperial victory in Parthian war as suggested by Devijver⁷³ seems unlikely considering the absence of Lucius Verus in the dedicatory inscription. The building was probably consecrated in the second half of Marcus Aurelius' rule, after the death of Verus in AD 169.

During the 2nd century AD the skyline of Sagalassos, like that of many Pisidian cities, came to be dominated by the imperial cult. The emperor, whose name and image met the eye at every turn, received a striking position in the transformation of civic space by the architecture of imperial cult. The imperial festivals, spectacles and other celebrations around which the civic calendar was organized, at least in urban contexts, on the other hand, reflected the imperial takeover of time.

The imperial presence, which was introduced during the previous century, now came to control civic space and time.

3. THE 3RD-CENTURY 'CRISIS'

Once it became fully embedded in daily life Pisidia, how did the imperial cult cope with the so-called crisis of the 3rd century? It will be shown to have been part of two major processes, in the field of politics and religion, namely the war in the East and the monotheistic trend.

3.1. *The war effort*

It has already been amply demonstrated that the renowned 3rd-century crisis did not have the same impact on Pisidia as on other regions of the empire. Although dominated by the threat of war, the 3rd century

in shape to the early 3rd-century imperial monument of Sia [see below]. This alleged *Sebasteion* was situated on the Roman agora of the city). The *homonoia*-coins of Adada and Selge depicting both emperors shaking hands were undoubtedly also part of these honours (Adada: von Aulock *Pisidien* I no. 52; Selge: *SNG Copenhagen* no. 277).

⁷² *SEG* XLIII 957. For a detailed description of the course of the *Via Sebaste* in the territory of Sagalassos see M. WAELEKENS *et al.*, *art. cit.* (n. 10), p. 175-176.

⁷³ H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 117.

was even a period of great prosperity for the whole region, including its secondary towns⁷⁴. This prosperity translated in architecture, coinage, games and senators⁷⁵.

Throughout the 3rd century military activity on Rome's Eastern frontier increased. The region acquired great strategic importance in the Parthian and Persian wars and thus became the focus of imperial attention. Men and supplies were moved to the eastern frontiers along its roads. The Roman allies were firstly involved in the logistics of the army: upkeep of roads, provision of draft animals, nursing and housing of troops. These amenities mainly affected cities along the great traffic-lines, such as the *Via Sebaste*. Yet, since Pisidia was not only a transit area for the Roman armies, but also a major supplier of goods, cities off the major routes equally contributed to the war effort, according to their resources and abilities, with grain, weapons and men.

Tax revenue could be extracted from the provinces in the form of grain requisitions. It was required that the cities, as part of their tax obligations, transported agricultural produce from the place where it was grown to a destination required by the state⁷⁶. Such grain deliveries also emerge from the civic coins of Sagalassos. They display an ear of corn on issues which coincide with major campaigns or troop movements under Claudius II Gothicus⁷⁷. The coin minted under the latter emperor represents through hands in *dexiosis* the *homonoia* between the city and Rome, and illustrates its role in the victory of the Romans by depicting a wreath over the name of the Romans and a ear of corn over that of its citizens⁷⁸.

⁷⁴ See S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 68).

⁷⁵ For the Roman senators from the Pisidian cities see H. HALFMANN, *Die Senatoren aus den kleinasiatischen Provinzen des römischen Reiches vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert* (Asia, Pontus-Bithynia, Lycia-Pamphylia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia), *Tituli* 5 (1982), p. 603-650. See also below.

⁷⁶ S. MITCHELL, *The Cities of Asia Minor in the Age of Constantine*, in S.N.C. LIEU – D. MONTERRAT (eds.), *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend*, London–New York 1998, p. 63-64.

⁷⁷ See P. WEISS, *Pisidien: eine historische Landschaft im Lichte ihrer Münzprägung*, in E. SCHWERTHEIM (ed.), *Forschungen in Pisidien* (Asia Minor Studien, 6), Bonn 1992, p. 159-161; *SNG* von Aulock nos. 5208-5209 (Claudius II).

⁷⁸ For this interpretation of the coins see J. NOLLÉ, "Colonia und Socia der Römer". *Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Auflösung der Buchstaben "SR" auf den Münzen von Antiocheia bei Pisidien*, in H.H. SCHMITT – C. SCHUBERT – K. BRODERSEN – U. HUTTNER (eds.), *Rom und der griechische Osten. Festschrift für Hatto H. Schmitt zum 65. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 1995, p. 364-365.

Grain was not the only requirement of the troops. Other necessary supplies included armaments. As established by Nollé, civic coin types depicting Hephaistos manufacturing arms for the goddess Athena (in her presence or not) symbolize the equipping by the cities of the Roman armies for their struggle against the enemy⁷⁹. For Sagalassos this was the case under Gallienus and Claudius II Gothicus⁸⁰.

A final contribution was the provision of recruits. Pisidia was renowned for its supply of men to the Hellenistic and early imperial armies⁸¹. There are indications that this continued later on. The region made a considerable contribution to the creation of two new legions, I and II Parthica in AD 193⁸². The title «friend and ally of the Romans», a formula carried by cities like Sagalassos, may well imply military assistance⁸³. At Sagalassos civic coins minted under Gallienus depict two hands in *dexiosis*, while their legends again proclaimed the city as friend and ally of Rome, symbolising, according to Nollé, the fidelity to Rome and expressing the willingness to fight alongside it⁸⁴.

We may now ask how the primordial role of Pisidia in accommodating and supplying the Roman army on its way to and on the eastern border related to the imperial cult in this period.

Cities wanted to surpass their neighbours in loyalty and support to the empire in order to obtain privileges and honorific titles from Senate

⁷⁹ See J. NOLLÉ, *Athena in der Schmiede des Hephaistos. Militär-, wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Implikationen von Münzbildern*, JNG 45 (1995), p. 61-63. In urbanised regions of the Empire weapons were less frequently manufactured by soldiers, as they were by civil metal workers, whose production was then bought by the military administration (*ibid.*, p. 70).

⁸⁰ KM nos. 26 and 28. Elsewhere such production is numismatically attested at Seleukeia under Elagabal and Gordianus III (IW no. 3899 and von Aulock Pisidien II no. 2013) and at Selge under Traianus Decius (IW no. 3980).

⁸¹ See H. DEVUVER, *art. cit.* (n. 4). For legionary soldiers from Pisidia also see H. BRANDT, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum (Asia Minor Studien, 7)*, Bonn 1992, p. 165-166.

⁸² See S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 19, and J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 78), p. 366.

⁸³ See J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 78). Sagalassos held the title as early as the reign of Antoninus Pius (see K. LANCKORONSKI, *op. cit.* [n. 43], p. 224 no. 188) and propagated it on its coins minted under Traianus Decius (SNG Paris no. 1825) and Gallienus (SNG Paris no. 1847). Elsewhere in Pisidia, Selge is also known to have bore the title, from the middle of the 3rd century onwards (see J. NOLLÉ – F. SCHINDLER, *op. cit.* [n. 28], p. 80 no. 12).

⁸⁴ SNG Paris nos. 1844 and 1847 (Gallienus). See J. NOLLÉ, “*Oriens Augusti*”. *Kaiserpanegyrik und Perserkriegspropaganda auf Münzen der Stadt Side in Pamphylien unter Valerian und Gallienus (253-268)*, JNG 36 (1986), p. 130, and J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 78), p. 356.

and emperor, and the imperial cult presented itself as *the* means to do so. Their eagerness to show loyalty and support was enforced by an increasingly more frequent phenomenon, the imperial *adventus*. Since no major campaign could take place without the emperor's presence, the latter appeared with increasing frequency in the cities of the eastern provinces, usually leading armies to the front. As already indicated above, the presence of an emperor in a particular region influenced the material 'output' of the imperial cult. The repetitive character of these visits transformed the imperial cult which previously devised forms of worship to honour an absent but universal and all-powerful ruler, but now also came to celebrate the actual arrivals and departures of the emperor, generally with games and festivals, but also with the erection of commemorative monuments and the issue of coins carrying representations of victorious emperors and of course their own contributions to the war⁸⁵.

Many manifestations of emperor worship in Pisidia under the Severi were apparently linked with the celebrations of Roman victories or *epinikeia*⁸⁶. Based on the parallel at Kremna, such a link with the Severan

⁸⁵ See J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 84), p. 128-129 and S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 76), p. 65.

⁸⁶ See J. NOLLÉ, *Selge. Historisch-numismatische Bemühungen um die Kultur einen untergegangenen pisidischen Städt.*, in B. KLUGE – B. WEISSER (eds.), *XII. Internationalen Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997. Akten*, I, Berlin 2000, p. 710. One of the civic coin types issued by Selge during the reign of Septimius Severus (SNG Paris no. 2051) depicts on the reverse the podium-like sanctuary of Zeus and Herakles decorated with flags and three objects, a bull, a lion, and a *trophæion*. While the bull and lion can most probably be associated with Zeus and Herakles, the trophy, according to Nollé, is a gift from the Severan dynasty, related to the victory feast or *Epinikeia*. This was celebrated all over the empire after the victory over Parthia in AD 198, and was used by Severus to promote Caracalla to emperor and Geta to *Caesar*. The coin, depicting Caracalla and Geta on the obverse, was therefore most probably issued by Selge, as ally of the Romans, on the occasion of this celebration. By representing this trophy in the central sanctuary of the city, the Roman alliance and the imperial success are translated in tangible images (*ibid.*, p. 710). This image again underlines the link between Zeus and the emperor, already manifest in the *agones Kaisareioi Keshelioi* and the presence of the emperors in the sanctuary (see above). The involvement of the civic deities in the political interaction between the city and Rome is often represented. The same is true for Adada where the civic games celebrated in honour of the city-goddess Tyche, the *themis Tycheios*, most probably received the title *Epineikios* at this occasion (J.R.R. STERRETT, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 299 no. 420). Caracalla and Geta were honoured on the coins of Amblada as the new Ares, a leading local deity, undoubtedly to commemorate their victory (Caracalla: von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 132-133; Geta: von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 141-142), while the image of emperor Severus standing in a *biga* and holding a sceptre can also be identified as a victory-issue (von Aulock Pisidien I no. 136). The colony of Kremna also saw the output of dynastic coins at this time depicting the empress Julia Domna as Leto carrying the 'divine twin' Caracalla and Geta (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 1167, 1191, 1199-1201), as well as an eagle with spread wings with the busts of Geta, Severus and Caracalla above (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 1189-1190).

victory over Parthia has been suggested for the construction of the monumental triple gateway erected at a major street crossing north of the Roman baths at Sagalassos in this period. The same is perhaps true for the *nymphaeum* reconstructed at the city's lower agora at the same time, since two statues of the goddess of victory, Nike, were part of the original sculptural decoration of the structure (cf. supra I, p. 188). Other honorific monuments at Sagalassos erected to the Severan family and listing the victory titles may equally have been put up on the occasion of the *Epinikeia*. The emperor Caracalla was honoured as son of the emperor Severus and Parthicus Maximus by the *polis* with a statue base erected to the west of the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios, while a votive milestone in honour of the whole Severan family, also mentioning the conquests, was placed along the imperial highway at Yarikoy⁸⁷. Perhaps the honorific inscription put up to the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and to Geta and the empress Julia Domna by an unidentified priest of the imperial cult at Sandalion in the eastern part of Sagalassian territory belongs to the same series (cf. supra I, p. 194-195)⁸⁸.

Although it may have peaked at such celebrations, the erection of monuments within the frame of emperor worship was surely not limited to these occasions. The dedication to Severus at the imperial sanctuary of Sagalassos, for example (cf. supra I, p. 194), most probably predates the imperial victory over Parthia since the accompanying inscription does not mention the victory titles⁸⁹.

Numerous monuments honouring the emperor Caracalla have been recorded throughout Pisidia⁹⁰. The sheer number of dedications in the region, the second largest after those for Hadrian, as well as in neighbouring Pamphylia again led Levick to suggest the possibility of an imperial visit, as part of his journey through Asia Minor on the way to Syria in the spring of AD 215⁹¹. This route has been refuted by Halfmann in

⁸⁷ See D.H. FRENCH, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 112 no. 297.

⁸⁸ Elsewhere in Pisidia, statue bases for Septimius Severus as Parthicus Maximus are also known at Anabura (*MAMA* VIII 351), and Termessos (*TAM* III 43). The latter was erected in the local theatre and can probably be connected with the institution of a birthday celebration for the emperor in the same building.

⁸⁹ Similar dedications to Severus (and Julia Domna) have been registered at Ilyas (J.R.R. STERRETT, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 417 no. 613), at Konana (J.R.R. STERRETT, *ibid.*, p. 339 no. 473), at the city-site of Melli (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 155 no. 150), and at Mulassos in the territory of Zorzela (*JGR* III 384).

⁹⁰ See supra I, p. 195 n. 76.

⁹¹ B. LEVICK, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 33-34.

favour of the military highway over Ancyra⁹². Moreover, the few specifically dated imperial monuments, such as the statue on the Upper Agora at Sagalassos (AD 212) (cf. supra I, p. 195), are too early to coincide with such a passage⁹³. That said, there are signs that again may point to an involvement in the imperial warfare. Several civic issues, for example, allude to an impending military campaign⁹⁴. The emperor Caracalla was characterised by the Sagalassians as 'Herakles Romaïos' on the coins where he is also depicted with a lion's skin over his head (cf. supra I, p. 197), recollecting the image of that other conqueror of the East, Alexander the Great, his great example⁹⁵. The high profile of the emperor at Sagalassos can perhaps also be explained by the close relation between the emperor and Lucius Gellius Maximus, a citizen of Sagalassos who became his personal physician⁹⁶.

The short reigns of Macrinus and Elagabalus are characterised by a complete absence of monuments to the imperial cult anywhere in Pisidia.

Severus Alexander's campaign in the East in AD 231-233⁹⁷ has equally been connected with the erection of several monuments, such as the construction of a triumphal arch at the entrance to Ariassos, paid for by

⁹² H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 227-229.

⁹³ Other examples have been noted at Kormasa (AD 211-212; G.E. BEAN, *art. cit.* [n. 71], p. 110 no. 79) and Ariassos (AD 213/214; G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 115 no. 110).

⁹⁴ Bronze issues of Ariassos depict Caracalla wearing an *aegis*, which undoubtedly refers to his military activity (von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 427-429). The *dexiosis*-type emitted during the reign of Caracalla at Adada may indicate that the city carried the title of *symmachos* (J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* [n. 78], p. 363 n. 81). Support from the colony of Komama may have acquired it the title of *Prima Fida* (see S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* [n. 68], p. 427 and n. 39 for further references), undoubtedly referring to its contribution to the war effort.

⁹⁵ See R. TURCAN, *Le culte impérial au IIIe siècle*, in ANRW II 16.2, Berlin-New York 1978, p. 1041. Furthermore, the issue of autonomous coins at Apollonia featuring the effigy of Alexander as *ktistes* (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 14-33) may have taken place not only in honour of a local elite family who had been carrying the name of Alexander for several generations and who figuratively had refounded the city through their benefices, but also as a response to the imperial propaganda promoting Caracalla as the *pacator orbis* or *fundator pacis* (F. REBUFFAT, *Alexandre le Grande et Apollonie de Pisidie*, RN 28, 1986, p. 65-71), a title which he carried in AD 212-213 and which can be translated as *ktistes*, possibly in an attempt to re-establish the world empire realized by Alexander the Great (A. MASTINO, *Le titolature di Caracalla e Geta attraverso le iscrizioni*, Bologna 1981, p. 72). This link with Caracalla would place the issue in 212 rather than 202 as suggested by Rebuffat (*art. cit.*, p. 69). It is probably in the same light that the inscription on the monument at Ariassos hailing Caracalla as «master of the whole land and sea» has to be seen (cf. supra I, p. 195 n. 76).

⁹⁶ See H. DEVIJVER, *art. cit.* (n. 4), p. 140-143.

⁹⁷ H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 50), p. 231-232.

Dioteimos, the local imperial high priest, has generally been related to his military campaigns in the East against the Sassanids⁹⁸. Whether the double base erected at Sagalassos along the colonnaded street by the priest of the imperial cult Aurelius Meidianus Attalianus to the last member of the Severan dynasty together with his mother (cf. supra I, p. 195) should also been seen in this light, is difficult to assess.

After this relative abundance of imperial monuments during the Severan age followed a period of almost thirty years with hardly any monumental sign of public imperial veneration, anywhere in Pisidia. Only at Ariassos was a statue erected to the emperor Gordian III⁹⁹. Other cities appear to have limited their involvement in the ongoing struggles to issuing coins with emblems of imperial triumphs or local support, thus conveying a propagandistic message¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸ See G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 118-122. A Selgian coin minted under Severus Alexander seems to commemorate a similar *Epinikeia*-feast as celebrated there under Septimius Severus (see above), since beside the trees two columns are depicted carrying respectively an eagle with a wreath in its beak, and a Nike holding a wreath (KM no. 406.27; for this interpretation of the coin see J. NOLLÉ, *art. cit.* [n. 86], p. 710-711). This can perhaps be related to the triumph held in the imperial capital in AD 233 (see H. HALFMANN, *op. cit.* [n. 50], p. 232). Other celebrations in honour of the emperor took place at the colony of Olbasa, namely the *agon Severios Augusteios Kapetoleios pentaterikos poleitikos* of which the title *Severios* was most probably added during the reign of Severus Alexander (see N.P. MILNER, *An Epigraphical Survey in the Kibyra-Olbasa Region conducted by A.S. Hall* [British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 24], Hertford 1998, p. 65 no. 144). At that time several contests were given the title *Severeia* in honour of the dynasty and these were often held in cities situated along military supply routes (L. ROBERT, *Discours d'ouverture du VIIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine à Athènes*, in *Actes du VIIIe Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine (Athènes)*, I, 1982, p. 39). At Oinoanda, the *Severeia Alexandreia Euarestia* were founded at this time (see A.S. HALL – N.P. MILNER, *Education and Athletics. Documents illustrating the festivals of Oenoanda*, in D. FRENCH [ed.], *Studies in the History and Topography of Lycia and Pisidia, in memoriam A.S. Hall* [British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph, 9], London 1994, p. 29). The same will probably also have been true for games (re)founded in his honour at Verbe by Aurelius Vibius Petronianus Lucius, an imperial high priest and priest of Herakles: the *agon Severeion Alexandreion Herakleion Eusebeion Eutycheion* (A.M. WOODWARD, *Inscriptions from western Pisidia*, ABSA 17, 1910-1911, p. 209 no. 6).

⁹⁹ G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 122 no. 115.

¹⁰⁰ The scene of Maximus in a *quadriga* on the coins of Kremna can most probably be related to the triumph he held for his victory over the Germans in AD 236 (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 1341-1344), while the Victoria writing on a shield, depicted on the colonial coins during the reign of Gordian III, doubtless refers to a similar fait (von Aulock Pisidien II no. 1373). Bronze issues at several other cities show Gordian on horseback (Andeda: von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 219-222; Panemoteichos: von Aulock Pisidien I no. 1139, reverse), carrying a shield (Amblada: von Aulock Pisidien I no. 145), or wearing an *aegis* and carrying a spear (Panemoteichos: von Aulock Pisidien I no. 1139, obverse),

At Sagalassos and Prostanna, the title of *demiourgos* or eponymous magistrate, was awarded to Philip II (cf. supra I, p. 198-199). According to Weiser, the emperor accepted such local magistracies in provincial cities because they offered him the opportunity to identify with his provincial subjects¹⁰¹. The choice of the crown prince rather than the emperor himself would establish the continuity of interest of the dynasty. A more historically founded explanation, however, may be found in the fact that coins from Sagalassos issued under Philip between AD 247 and 249 also displayed an ear of corn, the symbol of the *annona*. Furthermore, they coincide with major campaigns or troop movements¹⁰². The acceptance of the eponymous magistracy could then be interpreted as a sign of imperial recognition for the city's engagement in the war effort.

The involvement of Pisidia in the war effort even increased when Side in neighbouring Pamphylia became the main supply-base, after the destruction of the Cilician harbours by the Sassanids during the reign of Valerianus and Gallienus. It is not at all surprising then that these were the emperors who re-emerged 'out of the dark' in the shape of honorific monuments such as the pedestal on the colonnaded street at Sagalassos dedicated to the emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina (cf. supra I, p. 196), since it was during their reigns that the cities came to play an even more important role as suppliers of the eastern armies¹⁰³. Like Hadrian before them, Gallienus

images which can all be related to his campaigns in the East. Seleukeia, on the other hand, commemorated its contribution to those imperial achievements with a Hephaistos-issue (cf. supra). In Etenna a coin minted under Philip I depicts a equestrian statue of the emperor on top of a honorific arch that may refer to a victory monument in the city (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 641-645). Like his predecessor, the emperor is depicted on horseback at Andeda (von Aulock Pisidien I no. 223), and wearing an *aegis* at Panemoteichos (von Aulock Pisidien I no. 1142), representations held to be militarily related, while a trophy depicted on the coins of Philip II at Amblada can most probably likewise be related to alleged military successes in the East (von Aulock Pisidien I no. 170). Under Traianus Decius, Kremna showed its loyalty by issuing dynastic coins similar to those of the Severan age, depicting an eagle with spread wings with the busts of Hostilianus, Decius and Etruscus above, as well as the Roman wolf feeding the twins (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 1464-1473), while on Selgian coins minted then Hephaistos is depicted forging a shield (*IW* no. 3980).

¹⁰¹ W. WEISER, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 96.

¹⁰² See P. WEISS, *art. cit.* (n. 77), p. 159-162.

¹⁰³ A honorific milestone was dedicated to Gallienus and his father Valerianus at Kremna (G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 46 no. 14) and the former also received a statue in the *sebasteion* at Sia (*ibid.*, p. 149 no. 143), while dedications to his wife Salonina were recorded at Verbe (A.M. WOODWARD – H.A. ORMEROD, *art. cit.* [n. 71], p. 119 no. 12) and possibly at Selge (G.E. BEAN, *Inscriptions from Selge, Anadolu Arastirmaları* 2.1-2, 1965, p. 56 no. 1; This is rejected by Nollé and Schindler in favour of a dedication to Julia Domna (*op. cit.* [n. 28], p. 79 no. 10).

and Salonina were conspicuous for their philhellenism and were frequently honoured for this in the Greek East¹⁰⁴. At this time, soaked in a new vogue of Hellenism, Pythian games were founded in imitation of the games at Delphi¹⁰⁵. Yet, Sagalassos' issue of civic coins during their reign advertising the *homonoia* between Rome and the first city of Pisidia, and symbolising through hands in *dexiosis* its fidelity to Rome and expressing the willingness to fight alongside it, as well as the provisionment of grain and arms by the city as represented by the ears of corn and the Hephaistos-types (cf. *supra*) suggest that something more fundamental lay at the base of this upsurge in monuments and games in the region.

The milestone dedicated to Gallienus' successor, the emperor Claudius II Gothicus, in the territory of Sagalassos, again at Yarıköy along the *Via Sebaste*¹⁰⁶, may equally be related to the supply of goods to the Roman troops in this period since the *homonoia*-issues, which now also illustrated the city's role in the victory of the Romans by depicting a wreath over the name of the Romans and an ear of corn over that of its citizens, continued during his reign, when Sagalassos also minted coin types depicting Hephaistos forging a shield¹⁰⁷.

This climax of Sagalassian bronze coinage displaying the city's loyalty to Rome, demonstrated its position in the empire at that time. The city had styled itself as a loyal subject and ally (φίλη καὶ σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων) since the middle of the 2nd century, a commitment to the imperial cause which it stepped up in the 3rd century by providing the armies in the East with supplies and men (see above). Rather than a period of relative decline, Sagalassos undoubtedly preferred to call it her finest hour¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁴ See C.P. JONES, *Some New Inscriptions from Bubon, MDAI(I)* 27-28 (1977-1978), p. 293.

¹⁰⁵ L. ROBERT, *art. cit.* (n. 98), p. 39. This was the case at Perge (P. WEISS, *Aux Perge. Beobachtungen zu einem bemerkenswerten städtischen Dokument des späten 3. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.*, *Chiron* 21, 1991, p. 365-367). The Pythian games at Konana dating to the reign of Gallienus (J.R.R. STERRETT, *op. cit.* [n. 9], p. 338 no. 472) and those attested at Baris (J.R.R. STERRETT, *ibid.*, p. 408 no. 600) may be the result of this imperially promoted movement (see f.i. the *Valeriana Pythia* at Aphrodisias (C. ROUECHÉ, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods. A Study based on Inscriptions from the Current Excavations at Aphrodisias in Caria (Journal of Roman Studies. Monographs, 6)*, London 1993, p. 3-4).

¹⁰⁶ D.H. FRENCH, *op. cit.* (n. 53), p. 113 no. 299.

¹⁰⁷ *KM* nos. 26 and 28.

¹⁰⁸ This period, the second half of the 3rd century, was also the heyday of Side (see J. NOLLÉ, *Epigraphische und numismatische Notizen*, *EA* 10, 1987, p. 101-106) with which Sagalassos had concluded a *homonoia*-treaty between AD 251 and 253 (*SNG Paris* no. 1830).

Within this context of strategic importance, it would not be out of the ordinary for the 'first city of Pisidia' to improved on this status and receive her second neocorate as mentioned on the milestone dedicated to Diocletian (cf. *supra* I, p. 172), at a time, generally characterised by the inflation of *neokoros*-titles and other privileges¹⁰⁹, when the other leading cities of the *provincia Lycia-Pamphylia* were also granted one¹¹⁰. Although the attribution of the neocorate generally marked the foundation of a new temple dedicated to the provincial imperial cult¹¹¹, such a temple has not yet been located at Sagalassos. However, the inflation of *neokoros*-titles during the later 3rd century may have brought about the end of the link between obtaining the title and building an imperial temple, and the award of a neocorate to a city was now more emphatically associated with new ecumenical games¹¹².

After the reinstatement of the Cilician bases, the evidence for the imperial cult in Pisidia gradually peters out. The sequence of statues erected at imperial sanctuaries and other locations within the urban centres of Pisidia came to a halt with Gallienus in most places and civic bronze coinage ceased in most cities at this time¹¹³.

¹⁰⁹ See E. WINTER, *op. cit.* (n. 60), p. 171.

¹¹⁰ See S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 271-272. Side, for example, gets a second neocorate between AD 253 and 256, and her third under Valerianus-Gallienus (J. NOLLÉ, *op. cit.* [n. 60], p. 123-124).

¹¹¹ S.J. FRIESEN, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 25 and n. 74.

¹¹² See S. MITCHELL, *Festivals, Games, and Civic Life in Roman Asia Minor*, *JRS* 80 (1990), p. 192; E. WINTER, *op. cit.* (n. 60), p. 171-172.

¹¹³ Civic coinage came to a halt under Gallienus at Apollonia, Adada, Ariassos, Etenna, Isinda, Kodrula, Konana, Panemoteichos, Pednelissos and Pogla, and under Claudius II Gothicus at Sagalassos and Prostanna (see F. REBUFFAT, *art. cit.* [n. 59]). A brief resurgence occurred under the emperor Aurelianus, when the imperial attention focused on Kremna. The colony not only obtained permission to stage elaborate gladiator games, it even received a new sacred agonistic festival (von Aulock *Pisidien* II nos. 1574-1612; J. NOLLÉ, *Kaiserliche Privilegien für Gladiatorenmunera und Tierhetzen. Unbekannte und ungedeutete Zeugnisse auf städtischen Münzen des griechischen Ostens*, *JNG* 42-43, 1992-1993, p. 69-73). Since the creation of new games always seems to coincide with a city's show of loyalty to the emperor or to reward it for the support which it provided in the wars (S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* [n. 112], p. 192), this should probably be linked with the presence of Roman troops in the city that probably served as a regional basis of operation against Zenobia of Palmyra whose rule had briefly extended as far as Ancyra (S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 1], p. 224 and *art. cit.* [n. 68], p. 160). Afterwards, the city was the scene of another imperial dedication related to military activity, though in less favourable conditions as it was set up to the emperor Probus by the governor Terentius Marcianus, native of Sagalassos (S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* [n. 44], p. 208-210), undoubtedly at the conclusion of the siege of the city occupied by the rebel Lydios. An imperial priest equally involved in the oppression of the local insurgence served at Termessos under the emperor Carus and the *caesares* Carinus and Numerianus (*SEG* XLI 1390).

The overview of evidence reflects how, during the 3rd century, the region's hopes for success were indivisibly bound up with the fortunes of the reigning emperors. We see how the resources of Pisidia, including manpower, arms and food supplies were increasingly mobilised against the Parthians and the Sassanians, and how this practical support offered by the cities was matched ideologically through the erection of monuments, the celebration of festivals and the issue of local bronze coinage commemorating the emperors and their victorious campaigns. This was answered from the imperial side with new festivals and ringing civic titles. Consequently, it was during the 3rd century that the interests of the region and of the Roman state became aligned and that the Pisidian communities became 'Romanized'¹¹⁴. The manifestations of the imperial cult in the shape of buildings, festivals and coin issues which echoed imperial propaganda, were *the* means to embody a public recognition of this new alignment.

3.2. *Imperial syncretism*

Occasional relations between emperors and deities such as Augustus and Apollo, Nero and Helios, Hadrian and Zeus Olympios manifest in Pisidia have already been mentioned above. 3rd-century issues of cities such as Sagalassos depicting the emperor wearing a radiate crown and the empress with a crescent behind her shoulders (cf. *supra* I, p. 198) illustrate that such an association between the imperial couple and the personified heavenly bodies became a regularity in the imperial cult of that century. This relationship can be seen in the context of the growing tendency towards monotheism in Graeco-Roman religion¹¹⁵, but also as a local response to imperial religious initiatives. This can be deduced from the fact that the solar imperial effigy appears on civic documents from the reign of the emperor Elagabalus onwards¹¹⁶, the priest of the homonymous sun-god from Emesa in Syria, who introduced the cult in Rome and placed it at the head of the Roman pantheon¹¹⁷. According to Turcan,

¹¹⁴ See S. MITCHELL, *art. cit.* (n. 68), p. 421.

¹¹⁵ See in general P. ATHANASSIADI – M. FREDE (eds.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1999.

¹¹⁶ In Pisidia, Elagabalus is depicted wearing a radiate crown on the coins of Isinda (von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 815-821), Olbasa (H. VON AULOCK, *Kleinasiatische Münzstätten*, VIII. *Die römische Kolonie Olbasa, Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 21, 1971, no. 21), and Palaiopolis (von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 1107-1108).

¹¹⁷ See R. TURCAN, *The Cults of the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1996, p. 176-183; M. BEARD – J. NORTH – S. PRICE, *Religions of Rome, I. A History*, Cambridge 1998, p. 256.

this association can also be related to the imperial doctrine of the eternity of the emperors established during the Severan period, in which the sun and moon are conceived as the two eyes of Zeus, who invested the emperor with imperial power¹¹⁸. After the Severan dynasty, the association with the imperial couple not only endured as indicated by numerous civic issues minted throughout the region¹¹⁹, it also seems to have promoted the cult of the heavenly bodies in the Pisidian cities¹²⁰. Under the emperor Aurelianus the association between the figure of the emperor and the personified sun became complete as he made Sol Invictus, the living and invincible light, the state-deity and himself the representative of the supreme god on earth¹²¹.

As was illustrated above, the imperial cult certainly continued well into the second half of the 3rd century. Despite the sharp fall-off in temple building throughout the region, the imperial sanctuaries were 'updated' with the images of the new emperors up to the reign of Gallienus and also the imperial festivals and celebrations only faltered towards the end of this period.

This was to change from the last decades of the 3rd century onwards when nearly all types of evidence disappear¹²². Except for the poorly executed *stelai* erected at Melli and Panemoteichos¹²³, monuments to the imperial house under the Tetrarchy were limited to dedicatory milestones which were still widespread¹²⁴. That the honourings of the emperors were

¹¹⁸ R. TURCAN, *art. cit.* (n. 95), p. 1043-1044.

¹¹⁹ For Gordian III and Tranquillina at Sagalassos see n. 92-93; for Philip I and Octacilia at Apollonia see von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 151-156.

¹²⁰ Judging by the local bronzes, a shrine of Luna was established at Kremna during the reign of Gordian III (von Aulock Pisidien II nos. 1374-1377), while an open-air sanctuary consisting of altar on a platform surmounted by a crescent depicted on the coins of Adada in the reign of the same emperor (von Aulock Pisidien I nos. 97-99) appears to have been dedicated to her Greek counterpart Selene. Helios and the previously absent Selene were represented as a couple on the civic coins of Sagalassos under Trebonianus Gallus (SNG von Aulock no. 5195).

¹²¹ R. TURCAN, *art. cit.* (n. 95), p. 1072.

¹²² See S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 59.

¹²³ G. HORSLEY – S. MITCHELL, *op. cit.* (n. 9), p. 113 no. 107 (Panemoteichos) and p. 158 no. 155 (Melli).

¹²⁴ Besides the milestone mentioned previously (supra I, p. 172 n. 6), similar markers dedicated to Diocletian and Maximianus have been recorded in the territory of Sagalassos at Ağlasun and Düver (D.H. FRENCH, *op. cit.* [n. 53], p. 101 no. 264 and p. 105 no. 275), while Maximinus, Constantine and Licinius were honoured with a milestone again at Düver (*ibid.*, p. 105 no. 276). Elsewhere in Pisidia, such dedicatory markers have been recorded at Apollonia (*ibid.*, p. 148 no. 388 and p. 151 no. 396: Constantine and Licinius),

liable to the economic circumstances is suggested by the steles and milestones which stand in sharp contrast with the temples and bronze or marble statues erected during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Although this sharp decline in the traditional forms of worship may very well reflect the economic pressures on the cities during this period, it was for the greater part due to the diminution in the role of the cities, which were now fully subordinated to the ever-increasing imperial bureaucracy. The reasons for the long-term vitality of the imperial cult laid in its capacity to exploit the competitive values of the urban elite¹²⁵. As a result of the reforms the imperial cult lost its roots in those competitive forces of cities and local elites, and the vigour of the city which had been responsible for the rise of the cult had finally been sapped¹²⁶.

Yet, one of those modest memorials to the Tetrarchy does mention Sagalassos as 'dis neokoros' (cf. *supra*), titles which the city had obtained and continued to cherish. These monuments, however paltry, confirm the persistence of the imperial cult, both on local and regional level.

4. THE LATE ANTIQUE CHRISTIANIZATION

There are hardly any sources relating to the fate of the imperial cult at Sagalassos during the later imperial period, which suggests a certain decline. Nevertheless, under Constantine, the idea of the emperor as representative of the sun god installed by Aurelianus (see p. 216) continued¹²⁷. Moreover, imperial worship prevailed after the introduction of Christianity. This can be gathered from the fact that Sagalassos continued to display her *neokoros*-titles on the milestones dedicated to the emperor and his sons, demonstrating that the imperial cult also continued on a regional level. At this time the worship of the emperor was altered, but not completely secularised. The first Christian emperors who actively

Hadrianopolis (A.S. HALL, *art. cit.* [n. 2], p. 140 no. 2: Diocletian and Maximianus), Ilyas (D.H. FRENCH, *op. cit.*, p. 106 no. 280: Maximinus, Constantine and Licinius), Konana (D.H. FRENCH, *ibid.*, p. 153 no. 401: Constantine and Licinius), Lysinia (G.E. BEAN, *art. cit.* [n. 71], p. 80 no. 24: Diocletian and Maximianus), Olbasa (D.H. FRENCH, *ibid.*, p. 101 no. 265: Maximinus, Constantine and Licinius) and Termessos (*ibid.*, p. 73 no. 191: Diocletian and Maximianus).

¹²⁵ S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 62. Cf. *supra* I, p. 213-216.

¹²⁶ S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 60.

¹²⁷ This is illustrated by the statue erected by Termessos that adopted an openly pagan approach in its worship of the emperor by honouring him as the «all-seeing sun» (*TAM* III 45).

supported the cult, prohibited sacrifice to satisfy their Christian consciences, but officials still kept the title of priests and gladiatorial competitions continued to be held. It is equally certain that the temples remained as the centres of worship. Overall, the conversion of Constantine and the subsequent reassessment of the imperial veneration only meant the elimination of sacrifice, but the strength of the cult in the previous centuries had always lain in the festive games and in the celebration of the emperor's divine image¹²⁸. The altars and altar ceremony had to be abolished since the Christian emperor could not receive offerings and sacrifice in the same sense as his pagan predecessor could. But the sacredness invested in the person of the emperor as *divina majestas*, and his position in the centre of the universe did not change¹²⁹. The emperor remained God's special representative on earth, who was to be regarded by his subjects as the visible image of God, and whose authority thereby gained a heavenly sanction. His statue retained cultic honours, which were legitimate and not questioned by Christian writers¹³⁰.

Constantine's militant Christian son Constantius II received similar honours at Sagalassos where two statues were consecrated to him by the city as *metropolis* (cf. supra I, p. 196)¹³¹. The title *metropolis* was originally a mark of honour singling out one city from among the many that might aspire to preeminence within the province. As such, a single province could have more than one *metropolis*¹³². From the late 3rd century onwards, the title was held by the provincial city at which a governor resided and became the undisputed legal and administrative capital of the region¹³³. For a while, though, the two usages — honorary and administrative — survived together¹³⁴. Given the fact that Sagalassos was never a provincial capital, the city undoubtedly used the title honorifically. Since

¹²⁸ G.W. BOWERSOCK, *The Imperial Cult: Perceptions and Persistence*, in G.W. BOWERSOCK (ed.), *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire. Social, Economic and Administrative History, Religion, Historiography* (Bibliotheca eruditorum, 9), Goldbach 1994, p. 333-334.

¹²⁹ See F. YEGÜL, *A Study in Architectural Iconography: Kaisersaal and the Imperial Cult*, *ABull* 64.1 (1982), p. 29.

¹³⁰ S. PRICE, *op. cit.* (n. 1), p. 203. Within this context Constantine was honoured with a statue at Malos (*SEG XXXV* 1405).

¹³¹ At Termessos, Constantius II was honoured both as *caesar* and as emperor (*TAM* III 46 and 13).

¹³² C. ROUECHÉ, art. *Metropolis*, in G.W. BOWERSOCK – P. BROWN – O. GRABAR (eds.), *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1999, p. 577.

¹³³ P. BROWN, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity: Towards a Christian Empire*, Madison 1992, p. 11.

¹³⁴ C. ROUECHÉ, *art. cit.* (n. 132), p. 577.

the title appears to be a new acquisition, not used previously by Sagalassos, these imperial statues may indicate the city's continuing policy of 'rewarding' the emperor's grant of privileges through the erection of some monument. The city may have received the title of *metropolis* around the middle of the 4th century to compensate for the loss of the neocorate titles which had up to then shone on the official documents (cf. *supra*), but disappeared in the course of Constantius' reign, possibly as part of the Christianization-process taking place at the time.

The small base dedicated to Julianus Apostata found in Ağlasun (cf. *supra* I, p. 196) is one of the few known dedications to the last pagan emperor and, together with the possible reconstruction of the library under his rule¹³⁵, might attest to his popularity at Sagalassos and perhaps illustrates an attempt to restore paganism and the imperial cult in their former glory. The emperor is known to have been venerated by pagans, possibly as a pagan saint in the same way as Christian martyrs and saints were¹³⁶.

Evidence for imperial veneration at Sagalassos ends with a dynastic monument to the late Roman/early Byzantine imperial family erected on the Upper Agora, usurping an early imperial honorific canopy roof monument tentatively identified above as a *Tychaion* (cf. *supra* I, p. 188-191). The reason for the eventual rededication of the monument to Flavia Eudoxia may be related to the Isaurian raids of that period and the resulting building activity at Sagalassos, namely the construction of fortification walls, which was often financed by imperial officials in this period¹³⁷. Considering her involvement in the destruction of the sanctuary of Zeus Marnas and the construction of the cathedral at Gaza, the honours for the militant Christian empress Eudoxia on the city's Upper Agora may also hint at a Christianization-process with imperial support at Sagalassos¹³⁸. The empress would thus replace the goddess Tyche who originally appears to have inhabited the monument, as protectress of the city.

¹³⁵ See M. WAEKENS *et al*, *The Sagalassos Neon Library and its Conservation*, in M. WAEKENS – L. LOOTS (eds.), *Sagalassos V. Report on the Survey and Excavation Campaigns of 1996 and 1997* (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia. Monographiae*, 10), Leuven 2000, p. 435-437.

¹³⁶ See G.W. BOWERSOCK, *art. cit.* (n. 128), p. 336-337. Julian was still being honoured as a god in Side (J. NOLLÉ, *op. cit.* [n. 60], p. 327 no. 50).

¹³⁷ H. DEVIJVER – M. WAEKENS, *Roman Inscriptions from the Upper Agora at Sagalassos*, in M. WAEKENS – J. POBLOME (eds.), *Sagalassos III. Report on the Fourth Excavation Campaign of 1993* (*Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia. Monographiae*, 7), Leuven 1995, p. 119.

¹³⁸ On the involvement of Eudoxia at Gaza see F.R. TROMBLEY, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization c. 370-529, I* (*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 115.1), Leiden 1993, p. 218-219.

Afterwards further secularization of the imperial cult occurred. This is clear from an ordinance of Theodosius II in AD 425 in response to excessive adulation of the imperial images 'displayed at contests', stating that worship in excess of human dignity shall be reserved for God, and thus limiting the worship of the imperial image¹³⁹. It is probably in the context of this ordinance that the closure of the imperial sanctuary at Sagalassos has to be situated. Recent soundings in the northwestern part of the sanctuary revealed that the complex was given over to reuse sometime in the first half of the 5th century when the temple was partly dismantled and its architectural elements reused in encroachments built in the northern portico of the sanctuary. Also the local stadium must have gone out of use at that time as illustrated by the construction of a Christian basilica within it in the second half of the 5th century¹⁴⁰.

Consequently, with the exception of a statue to the emperor Zeno the Isaurian (AD 474- 491) at Sagalassos, perhaps in return for financial benefits allocated by the emperor to the region neighbouring his homeland, no further monuments for the worship of the emperor were recorded anywhere in Pisidia.

CONCLUSION

The material remains of the imperial cult at Sagalassos illustrate the attempt of its inhabitants to relate their ruler to their own dominant symbolic system, by using the traditional forms of worship: temples, effigies, and festivals.

As the overview of the evidence for imperial worship demonstrated, the impact of imperial architecture on the urban centre resulted in a complete transformation of civic space. The two temples of the imperial cult formed only a part of the range of civic architecture honouring the emperor. Within the same context two honorific arches and four other honorific monuments, a bath-complex, a food-market, and possibly also a stadium and a *nymphaeum* were erected, in short the conspicuous buildings that stood at the centre of every day life. The gradual increase of constructions focussed on the person of the emperor, including new and typically Roman building types such as baths and *macella*, reflects the changing economic fortune of the civic communities who wanted to express their gratitude in (increasingly) ambitious building programs. The urbanization

¹³⁹ *Cod. Theod.* XV 4.1. T. PEKARY, *op. cit.* (n. 22), p. 151; G.W. BOWERSOCK, *art. cit.* (n. 128), p. 335-336.

¹⁴⁰ M. WAELKENS – P. TALLOEN, *art. Sagalassos*, in P.C. FINNEY (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Early Christian Art and Archaeology*, Grand Rapids (Mich.) (forthcoming).

of the region thus gained impetus from the imperial cult. Beside these major interventions in the aspect of the urban centre, more modest representations of imperial power in the shape of imperial effigies adorned public squares and thoroughfares, and the local currency.

The imperial cult had its most profound influence on daily life through the main religious festival, the *Klareia*, which was shown to be related to imperial worship, and in other festivities such as gladiatorial shows and animal fights, held in the local stadium. It was on such occasions that the entire populace participated in imperial veneration.

The organisation of the cult was the concern of leading families of the city. Not only did they establish it and provide the high priests, they were also involved in all aspects of the cult, such as the construction of the sanctuaries and other buildings related to imperial worship, the erection of imperial statues, and the organisation of the festivals.

The mechanisms of the imperial cult were thus linked to the centres of religious, political, social and economic life, weaving the rule of Rome into the fabric of the urban society.

Although the establishment of the imperial cult is generally hard to determine archaeologically, this article has attempted to clarify how it came to be introduced at Sagalassos. At first glance, the imperial cult appears to have been a rather late phenomenon of local religious life, with the first high priest of the emperors only appearing during the Flavian dynasty. Such a course of events is not only contradicted by the prominent position that Sagalassos held in Pisidia — where early imperial sanctuaries were already erected in the neighbouring cities — but also by the numerous monuments erected in honour of the Julio-Claudian emperors within the city. We have therefore contended that there was already some kind of veneration directed at expressing the loyalty of the city and its inhabitants towards its new masters, and that this veneration gradually developed into an independent imperial cult. As Price has shown, the imperial cult in Asia Minor was created and sustained as a way of negotiating between local traditions and the facts of imperial power, and what better way to do so at Sagalassos than by using the one element that both had in common — the cult of Apollo. The city appears to have broken the ‘imperial news’ more gently to its populace, possibly in response to local attitudes to imperial rule at the beginning of the principate, which would explain the shrouded nature of the initial promotion of the cult. The cult of Apollo was thus established as a kind of veiled imperial cult during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, something that only changed under the Flavians. Then the temple dedicated to the city’s patron

deity made room for the emperors and the members of their families, and his festival became a celebration of the conjoint worship of the god and the emperors. Grafted on an existing religious core the imperial cult worked itself into the religious system of the community.

After this formative period during the 1st century AD, the imperial cult came to play an increasingly important role in the religious landscape from the early 2nd century onwards. Throughout Pisidia, the temples of the civic deities harbouring the imperial cult were now matched by new temples dedicated to the emperors alone, as well as a whole range of other buildings and monuments, while celebrations were now also held in sole honour of the divine ruler. The establishment of these more ambitious forms of emperor worship occurred during the reign of Hadrian and appears to have been prompted by his presence in the region. Their emancipation may therefore have been the result of increased visibility. From this time onwards the imperial cult became the major focus of building activity, religious and otherwise. The material evidence demonstrates the omnipresence of the emperor, as the exponent of Roman rule. The imperial cult was thus fitted into all civic centres of the Greek city.

Once properly introduced, the frequency and intensity of the imperial cult appear to have been closely linked to the imperial agenda. The material manifestations of the cult during the 3rd century show how closely it followed the historical events. The spread of imperial monuments and festivals accelerated all over Asia Minor, but especially in the regions which were frequently visited by the emperors and their troops, or contributed to the war-effort such as Pisidia. The 'crisis' of the 3rd century which put the region as a whole in the spotlight, will have led its communities to fully embrace the cult as a privileged way of negotiating between local and imperial interests.

Through the solar henotheism propagated by the emperors Elagabal, Aurelianus and Constantine, the emperor became the representative of the supreme god on earth. This allowed the veneration of the imperial image to continue in the Christian empire, having been in principle shorn of its pagan, divine connotations. The entire iconography of architecture and the language of symbols that had developed over centuries around the notion of the ruler cult were placed at the service of the new Christian emperor as God's elect and were assimilated into the Christian context.